

KARL MARX

and Our Time

The Struggle for Peace and Social Progress

International Scientific
Conference
Berlin, April 11-16, 1983



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FROM THE PUBLISHERS

An international scientific conference, "Karl Marx and Our Time: the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress", was held in Berlin from April 11 to 16, 1983. Arranged by the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, it was devoted to the 165th anniversary of the birth and the centenary of the death of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific communism, the great teacher and leader of the world's proletariat.

Representatives of 145 parties and organizations from 111 countries took part in this forum of revolutionary, democratic and anti-war forces, the biggest of its kind in recent times. Among them were 86 delegations of communist and workers' parties, 39 delegations of revolutionary democratic and national democratic parties and 18 delegations of socialist and social democratic parties. Such a representative character of the conference is testimony to the tremendous impact of Marx's ideas on the modern world.

The delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was headed by Grigori Romanov, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The speech of CPSU Central Committee Secretary Mikhail Zimyanin was on the theme "The Doctrine of Marx Lives On and Triumphs". The delegation also included

CPSU Central Committee Secretary Konstantin Ruskov and Central Committee Members Anatoli Yegorov and Vadim Zagladin.

The conference confirmed that the doctrine of Karl Marx, developed by Vladimir Lenin and reaffirmed by the experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the world socialist system, is of a deeply creative, genuinely international, revolutionary-transforming character.

A wide exchange of opinions took place at the conference. Although views did not coincide on all points, all the participants agreed that the ideas of Karl Marx are vital and active; they have helped and are helping people to grasp the main trends of world development, the complex and contradictory problems of our time, and they are an indispensable weapon in the struggle for social progress.

A major speech "Karl Marx and Our Time: the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress" was delivered at the conference by Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic. We give here the full text of Erich Honecker's speech at the conference and a summary of contributions by conference participants. In a small booklet it is, of course, impossible to set out exhaustively all the ideas and views that were expressed. Though aware of this, we nevertheless, have attempted to acquaint readers with the main trends of the discussion of Marx's scientific legacy in the hope that even a summary of the speeches made at the conference will interest many people.

**KARL MARX
AND OUR TIME:
THE STRUGGLE FOR
PEACE AND SOCIAL
PROGRESS**

**Speech by Erich HONECKER,
General Secretary of the
Central Committee of the
Socialist Unity Party
of Germany, Chairman
of the Council of State
of the German Democratic
Republic**

Comrades,
Distinguished guests,

A hundred years ago when Karl Marx, the great thinker and revolutionary, had closed his eyes forever, Frederick Engels, his friend and companion throughout a lifetime of struggle, declared that his name and work would endure through the ages. These prophetic words are proving true in our challenging and turbulent age as the human condition undergoes a radical transformation on all continents and the human race summons all its energies to banish the spectre of self-annihilation in a nuclear holocaust.

As we all know, events in honour of Karl Marx are taking place everywhere. People have been crowding to exhibitions to find out more about his life and work. Many publications are appearing. Films, newspapers and other media have awakened millions upon millions to the personality and achievements of the great son of the German people.

Karl Marx dedicated his life to the task of not only interpreting the world, but actually changing it. And since his day the world has indeed changed beyond recognition. We can see now that this regeneration of all social phenomena has occurred in the spirit of Karl Marx, along revolutionary lines, rather than in the spirit of those who pursued him with hatred throughout his life and then, after his

death, sought in vain to extinguish the fire of his teachings.

Marx enabled the working class in all lands to perceive its historical mission as the grave-digger of the old society and the architect of a new society which is free from the exploitation of man by man. By abolishing exploitation the human race also rids itself of other scourges which have afflicted it for centuries—national oppression and racial discrimination, and devastating wars. As all of us can observe, the working class has evolved into a decisive force behind the wheel of history. After the 19th century with all its struggles, after the triumph and bloody suppression of the Paris Commune, after the revolutionary upheavals which put an end to the First World War early this century, after the Soviet Union had powered the Allied coalition to victory over German fascism, the working class emerged in many countries as the ruling class, establishing socialist society in alliance with the peasantry and the intelligentsia.

It was the Russian proletariat, led by the Bolshevik Party and by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, on whom had fallen the mantle of Marx and Engels, which blazed this trail with the Great October Socialist Revolution. In Moscow and Peking, in Berlin, Havana and Addis Ababa, in Prague, Hanoi and Aden, in Warsaw, Ulan Bator and Pyongyang, in Budapest and Vientiane, in Sofia and Kabul, in Bucharest and Luanda, in Belgrade and Maputo—everywhere we can see the contours of a world in which the people, in the words of Engels, are stepping from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom.

The vast impact which the Great October Socialist Revolution has made on the development of mankind is very apparent. The 60th anniversary of

the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the participation of numerous communist, socialist and social democratic parties, of revolutionary democratic parties and liberation movements in the celebrations in Moscow to mark the occasion, underlie the great prestige which the Soviet Union enjoys worldwide and the great attraction it holds for the international labour movement and for all peoples.

How could it be otherwise! The Great October Socialist Revolution was no ordinary revolution. It differed radically from all previous revolutions, including the Great French Revolution, which continues to command our respect. All preceding revolutions, it will be recalled, had only led to an old system of exploitation being replaced by a new one. The exploitation of man by man remained, but Red October abolished it for the first time. The victory brought the workers to power in alliance with the peasants. That is the fundamental distinction between, on the one hand, the Great October Socialist Revolution and the revolutions in the other socialist countries and, on the other hand, all the revolutions which went before. And herein lies the significance of real socialism in the history of the world.

Basically, the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution was a victory for the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, rightly pointed out recently in his article dealing with Marx's theory and some aspects of socialist construction in the USSR that Marxism in our day would be inconceivable without and apart from Leninism. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party which he had founded, he writes, assumed the leading role in the first victorious revolution which completely changed the so-

cial and political complexion of our planet. This ushered in a new era, one of worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism, one of striking successes and historic achievements by the workers and the mass of the people. Scientific socialism, the theory propounded by Marx and Engels, was thus made a living reality by millions of working people building a new society.

The victorious Great October Socialist Revolution made it clear that capitalism, which the bourgeoisie claims is natural and permanent, can be replaced by a new social and economic formation. At the same time, it proved how correct Marx was to point out that capitalism would not of its own free will disappear from the scene. Only the working class and its revolutionary party can overthrow it. This, it will be remembered, was one of the principal lessons which Marx and Engels drew from the defeat of the Paris Commune.

Whichever way one looks at the events of 1917, which marked a turning-point in the history of mankind, it is a fact that the emergence of socialism as a living organism shook the capitalist world to its roots and inspired mankind with the hope of a happy future in peace and freedom. As Marx and Engels predicted, the onward march of the socialist world has been accompanied by the advance of the movement for liberation of nations who dealt the death-blow to the imperialist colonial system. This has been coupled with fierce conflict in capitalist countries at various stages of their development. Even now, the ruling class in those lands can no longer exercise its power without taking into account the influence of the world socialist system and the labour movement within their own borders, which has already become the principal force for democratic progress and democratic

renewal. These countries will see socialism emerge, in whatever colours, in a way that reflects national realities and class correlations and will witness the transfer of the means of production into public ownership, one of Marx's most important demands. In Africa, Asia and Latin America, those who still await their liberation are redoubling their struggle for peace, freedom and justice.

Against the backdrop of these changes it becomes apparent what a prodigious feat Karl Marx and Frederick Engels accomplished by transforming socialism from a utopian vision into a scientific doctrine. By infusing socialism into the labour movement they enabled the working class of all lands and the oppressed of this world to recognize their own strength and to use it to throw off the shackles of capitalism.

Just as the ideas of Karl Marx influenced the actions of the masses, they also had a lasting effect on the development of scientific and philosophical theory. No modern social science can escape the cogency of Marx's reasoning. Taking a stand in relation to Marx has become a crucial element in intellectual and political debate.

Marx must take everlasting credit for arousing mankind to the realization that the future does not depend on obscure forces outside our control. Nor will it be governed by the wishful thinking of all those "Marx-is-dead" theorists who are clamouring for a crusade against the Marxism of our era and who would prefer to see communism proscribed by a latter-day Inquisition and to give it a quiet burial so as to assure the ruling classes in their respective countries of their profits. What really determined the development of a society is the level and mode of production, the stage of economic development its people attained. In our day the existence

of the USSR and of the world socialist system even makes it possible for the peoples of economically backward countries to move towards laying the foundations of socialism while skipping the capitalist path of development.

"As to myself," Marx noted, "no credit is due to me for discovering either the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to demonstrate: 1) that the existence of classes is merely linked to particular historical phases in the development of production, 2) that class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society..."¹

According to Frederick Engels, the basic thought running through all Marx's work, not least through the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, is that economic production and the structure of society necessarily arising therefrom at every stage of history constitutes the foundation for the political and intellectual history of that era. Consequently, ever since the dissolution of the primitive communal ownership of land all history has been a history of class struggle, of struggles between the exploited and the exploiting, between dominated and dominating classes at various stages of social development. Finally, this struggle reaches a stage where the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—can no longer emancipate itself from the class which

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1975, p. 64.

exploits and oppresses it without at the same time forever freeing the whole of society from exploitation and oppression.

This basic thought belongs solely and exclusively to Marx, and the working-class movement has always borne it in mind, for there can be no progressive development in the present or future if it is not a guide to action for those who are endeavouring to lead mankind out of the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom. This awareness underlies the alliance policy of the revolutionary working-class parties, which varies in expression from one socialist country to another, depending on national realities.

It was one facet of his greatness that Marx never looked upon his doctrine as something fixed and immune to change. He always regarded practice as the proving for his theory. In fact, his own involvement in the revolutionary battles of his day provided a source of new ideas. He drew general conclusions from experience in order to influence the course of history with fresh, heightened, theoretical insights. This is a clue to both the scientific and the creative nature of Marx's teachings, which are capable of answering new questions as they arise. It was Vladimir Ilyich Lenin who then took on the historic role of defending Marxism against all distortions and developing it to take account of imperialism, the highest and final stage of capitalism, and to project a strategy for the new era of transition to socialism.

The doctrine of Karl Marx is omnipotent because it is true. No one can deny its successes despite the difficulties which arise, for all kinds of reasons, in the course of building a new society. Compared with any society of exploitation, real socialism is a comparatively recent phenomenon. Mankind finds itself

here on uncharted territory never before explored in human history. The founders of scientific socialism did not offer any all-embracing recipes nor did they ever have the slightest intention of doing so. What they did was to formulate fundamental truths and fundamental perceptions. The leading parties in the socialist countries are working closely together, studying their experience of building the new society and tackling new problems jointly. In this way the theory outlined by Marx is constantly being enriched and passing its test as a guide to action.

Like Lenin after him, Marx was above all a revolutionary. His ambition was to contribute not just to the downfall of any government which happened to be flouting the interests and rights of the people, but to the overthrow of capitalist society and the institutions of government it created. In many of his works, notably his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, he set out his view, first propounded in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, that the proletariat can do without the bourgeoisie but not vice versa. The bourgeoisie, he pointed out, cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, the relations of production. In this way it produces its own grave-diggers, the proletariat, in their thousands.

The current situation in the industrial capitalist nations furnishes striking evidence that the ruling class, even with the most advanced productive forces at its command, is unable to resolve the problems of the modern world in the interests of the people. We observe this in its attempts to make the people shoulder the burden of the crisis and thus keep profits high, in mass unemployment, in its inability to guarantee vocational training and secure jobs for all young people leaving school. In the

light of these symptoms, especially mass unemployment and the ravages of inflation, leading trade unionists have come to the conclusion that the negative effects of a profit-oriented capitalist economy cannot be eliminated without plucking out the roots. I should like to put on record here that we have the highest regard for the strenuous efforts being made by the communist and workers' parties, by the trade unions in the capitalist countries and by the national liberation movements to enforce social improvements for the working people and to defend them.

Both in the socialist countries and in the capitalist countries we are constantly running across fresh proof that Marxism is a vibrant theory which has lost none of its appeal. Serious bourgeois philosophers and economists of these days cannot ignore Marx when they expound their views about the past, present and future of the human race. Even those politicians who dismiss his ideas as irrelevant on the grounds that he lived and worked under different conditions, have to admit that our own age raises a number of questions which cannot be answered satisfactorily without some reference to Marx.

Take the question of the origin of political, economic and cultural crises, which it has become customary in the Western world to describe as crises of civilization. Take the sometimes utterly despairing questions asked about the causes of mass unemployment. The answers given by Marx, Engels and Lenin are very precise. The roots of these ills are well imbedded in the capitalist system with its pursuit of maximum profit. Take the subject of peace studies in the Western countries. Marx, Engels and Lenin gave very precise answers as to the origin of wars and how they can be prevented.

Right from the outset Marx considered the social emancipation of peoples and their liberation from the scourge of war to be twin tasks which the working class would have to accomplish in the course of fulfilling its historical mission. He was a fervent supporter of peoples fighting against national and colonial oppression and striving for freedom and independence. At the same time he was vigorously opposed to all wars which stemmed from the acquisitive and expansionist drive of the bourgeoisie.

In a well-known dictum Marx said that socialism is the embodiment of a society "whose international rule will be **Peace**—because its national ruler will be everywhere the same—**Labour!**"¹

Indeed, there is no class or social group in a socialist society which stands to gain from armament and war or which threatens other nations. The working class does not need war to attain its ends.

Consequently, the revolutionary working-class movement has always looked upon preserving peace as one of its prime concerns. It has combined the struggle against capitalist wars with the struggle for social progress. Today, however, the world situation is such that the danger of nuclear war overshadows the life of all nations, threatening a holocaust which would amount to the suicide of the human race. To prevent this happening and to secure a stable peace is the imperative need of our time. Only thus will it be possible to achieve further social progress and to resolve other social problems, indeed, to save human civilization.

With their policy of confrontation and arms-building, which they also seek to foist on their NATO allies, influential circles in the United States are

¹ K. Marx, *The General Council of the International Working Men's Association*, London 1870, p. 6.

clearly pursuing imperial aims. Their principal, albeit utterly unrealistic, aim is to gain military and strategic superiority over the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community in order to have a free hand for action in the world arena. Not surprisingly, therefore, hardly a day goes by without the US government talking yet again about a "threat from the East", something which is, of course, a complete myth.

There is no lack of examples in history illustrating the urge of imperialism to extend the area under its control and dominate sources of raw materials and markets and to establish spheres of influence. One need only think of German fascism and its lunatic plans, which culminated in the Second World War with all its suffering and destruction. Today we find US imperialism claiming vast portions of the world as its own sphere of vital interests, whether it be in Europe, Africa, Asia or Latin America.

This policy tramples on the independence, sovereignty and rights of peoples: witness the creation of what is called the "rapid deployment force", which has the declared aim of suppressing progressive developments in various parts of the world. Simultaneously NATO is extending its range beyond the confines of the alliance to include regions which imperialism is seeking to subordinate to its global interests. The United States is building up its military bases and it has even set up a command for space warfare. The recent plans devised by the United States, which also envisage the deployment of missiles in space, would fling the doors wide open to a renewed escalation of the arms race and would add to the likelihood of a war on Earth.

It is part of the policy of confrontation to whip up tension in various regions of the world and to

create new flashpoints, thereby poisoning the international atmosphere even more and keeping the torch of war glimmering. This is very apparent in the Middle East, where the United States, in particular, is giving aid and comfort to Israel in its aggression against Lebanon, against the Palestinian people and against Syria. Mounting dangers spring from the aggressive policies of the apartheid regime in South Africa, the continued occupation of Namibia and the efforts of the racist regime to destabilize the progressive states in that region. In the Caribbean, too, the US imperialists are resorting to a policy of threats, pressure and blackmail, which is chiefly designed to force socialist Cuba to its knees but which is also directed against Nicaragua, Grenada and the liberation movements in El Salvador and other countries in the region.

The most aggressive elements of imperialism have not even attempted to conceal their gambling on a possible nuclear first strike and the consequent risk of a nuclear world war. It is only logical, given such a policy, for them to force armament to reach astronomical levels. Let me simply recall here that US arms expenditure has gone up from 144,000 million dollars in 1980 to 285,000 million dollars this year and that the figure is planned to exceed 400,000 million in 1987. The only ones who derive economic benefit from this are the handful of giant arms companies, the merchants of death whose profits are soaring despite the crisis.

For the peoples of the world, however, every new round in the arms race represents a heavy burden. Not least, it is the developing nations who suffer. They are finding it much more difficult to carry out their national programmes and overcome the legacy of centuries of colonial rule. The growing arms exports of imperialist states, especially the

United States, coupled with their high bank interest policies, tend to increase the indebtedness of many developing countries, which is bad enough as it is. According to recent estimates, this burden of debt exceeds 600,000 million dollars. If the arms race is halted and practical steps are taken to bring about disarmament, enormous sums will become available for solving the urgent problems facing mankind. The dangers to world peace are great today, but in our belief it is not only necessary but also possible to remove them. Those forces in the world which sincerely want peace justly draw encouragement from the fact that the Soviet Union and the socialist community are the strongest bulwark in the battle for this lofty aim. Socialism and peace are indivisible. As Communists we are guided by the ideal which the German version of the old workers' song *Hold the Fort* sums up in these words: "Work, bread and peace for all nations—that is our goal."

It serves the interests of world peace that the awesome military potential produced by modern science and technology is not entirely concentrated in the hands of imperialism. Thanks to the defence capacity of the socialist community, this tremendous power to destroy has not yet been put to use. With the most aggressive elements of imperialism stepping up their policy of confrontation and arms-building, we consider it our internationalist duty to maintain our defences, at whatever level the situation requires.

At the same time, the USSR, the German Democratic Republic and the other states of the socialist community are leaving no stone unturned and have launched one initiative after another to achieve tangible and durable progress towards the safeguarding of peace. It was in this context that the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw

Treaty Organization, meeting in Prague, submitted its well-known programme. It takes into account the interests of all parties, has enlivened the international dialogue on feasible ways of limiting and reducing armaments and is proving to be a constructive factor in finding and implementing feasible solutions.

We regard the solemn pledge of the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons as a move of world political importance and urge the other nuclear powers to give a similar pledge. The states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization are prepared to take the greatest possible steps towards disarmament in accordance with the principle of parity and equal security. As things stand now, more weapons do not mean more, but less security. So it is really necessary to make peace with fewer and fewer weapons. In order to ward off the threat of a nuclear holocaust, it is extremely important to prevent NATO from deploying new US nuclear first-strike weapons in Western Europe. We advocate a genuine "zero option", which means a nuclear-free Europe that can ensure a peaceful future for our continent.

For this reason, as you know, we supported the Swedish proposal to establish a Central European zone free of battlefield nuclear weapons and have declared our readiness to make the entire territory of the German Democratic Republic available for the purpose. The creation of such a zone would be a valuable contribution towards diminishing the risk of war, enabling the process of détente to continue and deepening international co-operation. It is and remains the German Democratic Republic's priority to play an active part in attaining these goals. We set great store by the proposal submitted in Prague for concluding a treaty between the

Warsaw Pact and NATO on the mutual renunciation of the use of military force and on the maintenance of peaceful relations.

We fully endorse the approach adopted by the USSR at the Geneva talks on the limitation and reduction of nuclear armaments, which is aimed at achieving specific results. To this end Yuri Andropov submitted several proposals which met with a wide, largely positive, response among the general public, with voices from many quarters demanding to know when the United States will drop the policy of obstruction it has pursued so far and help to produce some constructive agreements.

The peoples and governments of many countries in Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America are coming out in favour of establishing nuclear-free zones in their regions and of dampening hotbeds of tension and conflict. We heartily support the relevant initiatives taken in this matter by India, Mexico, Venezuela and Nicaragua, as well as by Arab and African countries.

We consider the Non-Aligned Movement to be a mighty force which can assert the common interest in a stable peace on all continents. Its influence is growing in the struggle for equitable international relations, both political and economic. The 7th Summit Conference which these states held in Delhi confirmed this very impressively. In our view it was an important contribution towards thwarting the imperialist strategy of confrontation and defending peace and the rights of the peoples.

Experience all over the world indicates that Communists are reliable allies of the worldwide peace movement. They are working actively and with great initiative for the common goals. Since the conditions of struggle of communist and workers' parties vary from one country to another, it is not

surprising that they sometimes formulate different ideas about the forms and methods which should be adopted in the campaign for peace and social progress. But the prime concern is always safeguarding and stabilizing peace. We consider this to be the priority task for the entire working-class movement, irrespective of the views its parties or organizations might hold on this or that issue in their respective countries. All in all, the international working-class movement has a considerable peace potential at its disposal. Once again we reaffirm our readiness to offer our hand in a spirit of comradeship to all national revolutionary parties and liberation movements, to all socialist and social democratic parties, trade unions and other organizations to realize this potential fully.

At this forum, which has gathered to honour Karl Marx, I would like to suggest that right now all political and social forces who sincerely want peace positively must work together, irrespective of their differing political programmes, ideological positions and religious beliefs, across class barriers and everything that may separate us, in order to save the peoples from the catastrophe of a nuclear war. The differences will not disappear as a result. The defence of peace, as the most precious possession of humankind is a matter of priority, a common interest which unites us. At the same time the commitment to peace offers much scope for mutually beneficial co-operation in the very wide-ranging fields.

The maintenance of world peace is a matter that concerns everybody, including those who do not aspire to bring about fundamental social change. Certainly nobody has ever had a monopoly of the desire for peace and the willingness to fight for it. Ever since there have been wars, with all their

suffering, sacrifice and destruction, the best representatives of the peoples and various classes and organizations have bravely resisted aggressive threats. But never before has the human race been confronted by such a lethal danger to us as today, never has it been so pressed to fight for peace. Nuclear war would turn even the idea of making profit into an illusion. Thus a historical opportunity has arisen for the most wide-ranging forces to draw together in the struggle for peace and for this struggle to grow broader than it ever has been in the past.

There is no sensible alternative to the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems. Its principles, whose implementation bore such positive fruit, especially in the course of the seventies, must become the norm for international relations. We, too, believe that the policy of détente is the only way to prevent nuclear catastrophe, it offers the only chance of achieving stable peace.

Our party bases all its endeavours on the responsibility it feels for the survival and prosperity not only of people today, but also of future generations. We are especially aware of this responsibility because our country lies directly at the dividing line between socialism and capitalism, between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO. Besides, our sense of responsibility is imbued with the lessons of history, with the fact that two devastating world wars emanated from German soil. Peace, and peace again, is the supreme maxim underlying our policies.

Comrades,

Distinguished friends,

On German soil, in the land of his birth, in the German Democratic Republic, the ideas which Karl Marx gave to the working class are becoming a

reality, ideas which enabled it to organize social conditions worthy of human beings. It was here that a new, socialist Germany came into being under the leadership of the united working class and its party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Everything it has achieved so far and everything it is striving for illustrates the potential which real socialism offers. During your stay in our country you will be able to see all this for yourselves and to form your own opinions.

In 1945, after traversing a long road full of struggles, which saw hard-won victories but also bitter defeats, the revolutionary German working-class movement was able to set about radically changing people's very existence. This great opportunity opened up when the glorious Soviet army and the armies of the other states allied against Hitler succeeded in smashing Nazism. The German Democratic Republic put it to effective use, and the proof lies in the results achieved in the course of more than three-and-a-half decades of development that has taken place in continual sharp conflict with imperialism and reaction.

From the very beginning, this development has been linked with the international transformations that took place after the Second World War, in the course of which the world socialist system emerged. As co-operation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries grew closer, it became easier to solve internal tasks and problems. That awareness came to pervade socialist construction on every front, and we have been guided by it at all times. The establishment of a new order had been tried out in the land of Lenin with due regard for the objective laws of social development. Thus the USSR gained a wealth of experience which is of immense value to all progressive mankind, a trea-

sure-trove on which all revolutionary parties can draw in leading their peoples to socialism.

Our party did this, too, when it applied the general laws of socialist construction to our specific national circumstances. Given the chaotic material and cultural legacy of imperialism it would have been inappropriate to declare socialism the order of the day. The anti-fascist democratic transformation ushered in an organic revolutionary process during which socialist construction eventually took place. A positive factor in the process was that under capitalist conditions our country had already attained a relatively advanced level of industrial development.

By setting up the first socialist state of workers and farmers on German soil, the German Democratic Republic, the working class decided the issue of power, the fundamental issue of any revolution, in its favour. This brought confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist perception that the party's role as the leading force is indispensable to the liberation of the working class and the successful construction of socialism. In the spirit of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has, by maintaining close and trustful relations with the working people, lived up to its duty. In its work it has always been able to learn from fraternal parties and, in turn, it has contributed insights of its own to the international store of revolutionary experience.

On German soil, too, freedom and democracy, those great ideals of the working-class movement, are genuine achievements which socialism has given working people for the first time in their history. As Karl Marx demonstrated, these ideals are dependent on the economic and political power wielded by the ruling class, whichever it may be at the time.

In a state of workers and farmers the toiling masses are the masters of their destiny, running their own public affairs. Otherwise it would not be possible to build socialism successfully.

The policy of alliance pursued by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has become very much a part of socialist democracy, bringing the working class, the peasantry, the intellectuals and the rest of the working population closer and closer together and thereby releasing major creative potentials. This is borne out characteristically by the co-operation, carried out in a comradely spirit, between the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the other parties and mass organizations in the National Front of the German Democratic Republic. Their political representatives share responsibility at all government levels. The Democratic Farmers' Party of Germany, the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany and the National Democratic Party of Germany are making their own contribution towards shaping advanced socialist society, and we appreciate this very much. Today's society in the German Democratic Republic only knows classes and strata which live from their own work and so they have the same basic interests. In our republic a large-scale process is under way in which the various classes and strata are moving closer together, producing an increasingly pronounced political and moral unity among the people.

In the early seventies our party found itself for the first time in a position to lay down a complete spectrum of tasks for building an advanced socialist society in the German Democratic Republic. We regard them as the key to a historical process of profound political, economic, social, intellectual and cultural changes. In order to press ahead it is

necessary to adopt a planned approach towards developing at a high level all the advantages and driving forces of socialism, every aspect and sphere of social life, the forces and relations of production, social and political relations, science and education, socialist ideology and culture, the whole complex of working and living conditions and also national defence. As our experience has shown, the multitude of individual problems arising from socialist construction can be solved successfully if one adopts a principled Marxist-Leninist position.

A period of new, dynamic advances has begun in the German Democratic Republic. Our guests from abroad will doubtless understand that our people are proud of their socialist homeland, of all they have created with their hard work. As things stand now, the German Democratic Republic is a modern socialist industrial nation with a highly productive agricultural sector, an efficient educational system and a strong scientific potential. The working class was left all those years ago with the harsh legacy of the war and what can only be called a truncated economy, severed from its historical context. All the powerful productive forces which the German Democratic Republic now possesses, embracing almost every branch of modern industry, have grown under socialism as social property.

While the national income of our republic was 24,100 million marks in 1949, it had risen to over 200,000 million marks, or more than eightfold, by 1982. That was a gloomy crisis-ridden year for all the major industrial capitalist countries, but in that year the German Democratic Republic attained a 4.3 per cent growth in production over the previous year, at the same time reducing the consumption of energy and raw materials by six per cent. Socialism proved its viability under all conditions.

This is also reflected in our agriculture, which is organized on a co-operative basis with subsidiary farming having played a specific part from the very beginning. The Association of Allotment Gardeners and Small Stockbreeders with its 1,200,000 members makes a considerable contribution towards feeding the people.

In implementing its economic and social policies as a complex whole, our party is responding to objective requirements. Since higher output is used in a substantial measure to improve the working and living conditions of working people, a better life remains no distant promise. Good work pays off now. This knowledge releases a great deal of social energy, mobilizing above all the skills of the people. The total work force in this country is 8,368,000, of whom more than 6,860,000, or 82 per cent, have completed some course of training. This is a great achievement and at the same time a tremendous economic opportunity.

The economic strategy adopted for the eighties by our 10th Party Congress is based on Marx's theory of reproduction. An interesting factor is that many of its findings are proving to be of growing relevance as the German Democratic Republic's economy strides along the road of intensively extended reproduction. The law formulated by Marx on the economy of time, his profound analyses of labour productivity as an economic and social phenomenon and of the economics of production conditions in general again and again provide us with answers to practical questions.

Marx was fully convinced that in a society free from exploitation the productive force of human labour would rapidly unfold for the good of the people, once the working people were armed with an understanding of the laws of social development

and took the enormous project of construction into their own hands. Socialist emulation, which is organized by the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions with a membership of more than nine million, is a powerful driving force in the process. Typically, the mass campaign by the German Democratic Republic's working people to pay tribute to Karl Marx by achieving particularly good economic results is culminating in a pledge by millions to increase their labour productivity by one per cent more than was planned for 1983, thus making it possible to raise the output of goods to the value of an extra 3,800 million marks. This is an initiative which will bring many positive results for all our people.

To attain the required pace of economic progress in our country, we must combine the advantages of socialism more closely with the scientific and technological revolution. Karl Marx described science as the soundest form of wealth, attaching great value to it for the development of the productive forces. The status it enjoys in our society does full justice to this. We earmark a considerable portion of our national income for research and development and by international standards we compare well. We make no secret, however, of the fact that socialism, in our view, offers greater opportunities for putting science to good use than we have so far utilized, and we are making considerable efforts in this field.

The emergence of new economic structures goes hand in hand with scientific and technological progress, and at the same time new challenges arise for the individual. There is indeed no lack of problems. But the solutions turn out to be quite different when science and technology are instruments for improving the lives of working people

instead of being abused to reinforce the exploitation of man by man. In the German Democratic Republic, economic rationalization is carried out together with the working people. Scientific and social progress are two sides of the same coin.

As we know, the development of productive forces under capitalism comes into ever sharper conflict with relations of production, causing deep crises in the economy and within society. Socialism, by contrast, offers the opportunity of perfecting the relations of production along planned lines, paving the way to development of the productive forces. Here, too, there is an objective interrelationship.

In the German Democratic Republic industrial and construction capacity has been organized in the form of combines, which pool our huge material and intellectual resources and make it possible to organize production efficiently from the research stage to sale. These combines are firmly integrated into the overall pattern of management and planning set up on the principle of democratic centralism. The general managers of these combines are working as proxies of the workers' and farmers' state, with considerable powers to ensure that plan targets can be fulfilled. The formation of combines, a profound change in the structure of industrial management which took place some time ago, has proved successful and has become the stepping-stone to many further improvements.

The crux of the matter is to harmonize the interests of the combines, factories and individual work collectives more and more cohesively with social requirements, that is to say, to gear them to highly efficient management. Naturally, it is not possible to copy capitalist methods; approaches can only be found by perfecting the socialist planned economy itself.

The 10th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany described the economy as the area in which the most important social policy decisions are taken. At the same time it underlined the growing importance of interaction between development processes in very diverse fields. A flourishing economy must provide the means to permit healthy progress in many other spheres within the framework of our far-reaching goals. This includes measures to protect the natural environment. Then, of course, the German Democratic Republic is actively committed to anti-imperialist solidarity and, as best as it can, assists numerous developing countries to build up their economies and educational systems. Under socialism, the economy is a top-priority state concern and the business of every individual.

The attitudes of working people to economic issues are governed decisively by the fact that the right to work is fully guaranteed and that all-round living standards are secure and continually being improved by rising productivity. People think and act as the owners of the means of production; they feel an increasing sense of responsibility for every item of the economic account.

If we take a long-term view, economic growth and output lead to something more than particular improvements in the life of the people. Put at the service of a consistent policy for the good of the people, they make it possible to tackle social problems, to foster those qualitative changes in living conditions which building an advanced socialist society requires. A characteristic example is the housing construction programme, the linchpin of our social policy. More than 1,800,000 flats have been built since 1971 alone. The housing improvements that this has brought about put us well along the road to achieving our Party's target of solving the

social problems of housing by 1990. This means providing between 2,800,000 and three million dwellings. Rents, however, will remain at their current low level.

It is a basic principle in our country to grant all children the opportunity to enjoy a good education. We can see that in capitalist society, where the educational privileges of the well-to-do have never been abolished, a right like this would be unthinkable. The single-class school, for example, was once a widespread institution in this country, too, especially in rural areas, but the German Democratic Republic closed down the last one in 1959. The backbone of our present, socialist educational system is the ten-year general polytechnical school. All our children have the same opportunities for general education and vocational training. In the German Democratic Republic great value is attached to implementing communist education ideals, imparting a high level of knowledge, conveying the best of what the human race has created in terms of cultural treasures. Not only has the number of university and college students increased several times over since the capitalist era, but their social composition has changed in favour of the working class and women, attesting to the developments that have taken place in our socialist system of higher and specialized secondary education.

Young people are not only sure of receiving a sound vocational training but also of a job. But, furthermore, great trust is placed in them in all walks of life, and they are able to assume considerable responsibilities. They have grown to play an important role in society, and, under the leadership of their socialist youth organization, the Free German Youth, they have proved that they deserve it.

Very much is being done in the German Democratic Republic to enable women to make better practical use of their equal rights in society. Comprehensive support is given to families, especially to children. It is a matter of course in our country that all citizens can avail themselves of the right to recreation and medical care. The services of our socialist health system, which are free of charge to the patient, not only benefit the working people, but are also noteworthy by international standards.

The same can doubtless be said of our flourishing socialist culture, broad participation in mass sports, the evolution of socialist morality and ethics. Thus a socialist mode of life is taking shape among our people.

As can be seen, social progress calls for hard work and the solution of multiple problems which are not always predictable. Despite all the positive achievements of socialism, one should not forget that it is being built in a world full of contradictions and full of turbulence. The safeguarding of peace and the all-round development of socialist society condition one another and must be achieved at one and the same time. Great things have already been accomplished, greater challenges are still in store for us. By further fashioning an advanced socialist society in the German Democratic Republic we are laying the groundwork for the gradual transition to communism.

The German Democratic Republic is in the fortunate position of following this path in fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of our community. This indestructible alliance has been at the root of its successes and remains the basis for its secure prospects. Whatever we do for the good of our own people will also

strengthen the great family of socialist countries.
The one cannot be separated from the other.

Comrades,

Distinguished guests,

Karl Marx was, as Engels aptly remarked, one of those outstanding men of whom only a few are born in any century. But it has not always befallen even those to set such a stamp on posterity. One hundred years after his death, the historical changes which have taken place in the lives of humankind, inspired by his great ideas, are the most enduring monument to the great theoretician and revolutionary. The cause of socialism, national liberation and the struggle for a peaceful future for all peoples will triumph.

**SUMMARY
OF CONTRIBUTIONS
BY CONFERENCE
PARTICIPANTS**

The Ideas of Marx Live On and Triumph

It is hard to find a sphere of human life not probed by Marx's thought. The impress of his genius lies on every field of knowledge he took up. Although Marx devoted most of his life to theoretical research, he was by no means an armchair scholar. Marx was a revolutionary thinker who drew inspiration from the struggle of the working class to the cause of whose emancipation he devoted his whole life.

His creative work and the lessons of his practical activities are profoundly consonant with our time; they are of world-historic significance for modern revolutionary practice. Today too the teaching of Marx remains a guide to action, a weapon in the class struggle.

Such was the keynote idea of the conference.

"Marx stood at the fountainhead of the first class proletarian organization, the Communist League. Together with Engels he founded the First International, which became an embodiment of the fraternal solidarity of the workers of all countries. And we Soviet Communists," said Mikhail Zimyanin, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "particularly cherish the fact that on the General Council

of the Working Men's International Association Marx represented two countries—his homeland, Germany, the birthplace of Marxism, and our country, Russia, the future country of Leninism and the Great October Socialist Revolution.

"Reminiscencing about Marx, people who had known him closely said he should have lived for a hundred years to bestow upon the world only a fraction of the treasures of his mind. Today we can say that the hundred years that have passed since Marx's death have confirmed most convincingly the richness, correctness and justice of the ideas he bequeathed to people.

"Karl Marx accomplished a revolution in man's view of the world. The history of social thought has known thousands of theories and doctrines. The overwhelming majority of them have sunk into oblivion and the names of their authors have been forgotten. But Marxism, which has stood the most difficult of tests, that of life, with flying colours, has affirmed itself in the consciousness of mankind as its supreme achievement.

"For millennia working people had remained captives of the ideology of the exploiting classes. The historic significance of the transformation Marx accomplished in social consciousness lay in the fact that he created a fundamentally new, dialectical-materialist world outlook which shows the proletariat and all other oppressed classes the way out of their spiritual, social and economic bondage.

"Marxism is a coherent and consistent system of views, an integral teaching explaining the more general laws of the development of nature, society and thought, the laws of the revolutionary transformation of the world. A most active part in the development of this teaching was played by Marx's great companion and friend, Frederick Engels. As

Lenin wrote, '...proletariat may say that its science was created by two scholars and fighters, whose relationship to each other surpasses the most moving stories of the ancients about human friendship'.¹

"The emergence of Marxism was objectively prepared by the entire course of world history. The main thing here is that with the growth of capitalism a new, ascending class, the proletariat, advanced to the forefront of history. Marx showed that the proletariat is the social force called upon by history not only to abolish capitalist oppression and exploitation, but also to build a new society.

"Proceeding from the tasks of the class struggle of the proletariat, Marx and Engels synthesized the highest achievements of scientific thought and gave answers to questions posed by history itself. Adopting a creative approach from the standpoint of materialist dialectics, they reworked the supreme achievements of philosophy, political economy, utopian socialism and natural science, and drew general conclusions from the experience of the working-class movement. Thanks to the titanic work of Marx and Engels socialism was turned from a utopia into a strict scientific theory, and the working class was equipped with the understanding of its world-historic mission.

"The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* became the programme document for the revolutionaries of all countries. Its every line breathes powerful energy and will for the victory of the rising working class, boldly assuming the historical initiative. In this work Marx and Engels gave a brilliant account of the fundamental ideas and principles of their theory, the basic propositions of scientific socialism

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 26.

and the revolutionary practice of the proletariat, in it the basis is laid of the Marxist teaching on the party by rallying and uniting round which the proletariat acquires political autonomy and strength.

"In the stupendous range of classical works of Marxism there rises, like Mount Everest, Marx's Capital. In Lenin's words, in this work the theory of Marxism found the most profound, all-round and detailed confirmation and application. Marx's economic teaching is profoundly explained in it. With unsurpassed profundity and brilliance it sets out Marx's two most remarkable discoveries which became the foundation of scientific socialism: the materialist conception of history and the theory of surplus value. There, in the live fabric of scientific research, is fully revealed the potency of Marx's dialectical method, proving the historical doom of capitalism.

"Marx was not to see the birth of the socialist world. The Great October Revolution signified the beginning of a new era in mankind's history. To-day already one-third of the population of the world, having overthrown the yoke of capitalism, is building life according to new, socialist economic laws which Marx discerned decades ago. Although capitalism is still managing to delay its collapse, it is becoming increasingly clear that this system cannot get rid of its inherent antagonisms. On the contrary, it is reproducing them in ever more acute forms. And no matter what our class adversaries may say, history is developing according to Marx.

"Creative development of revolutionary theory, its indissoluble ties with life, its openness to what is new and progressive are organic features of the communist movement, owing their origin to Marx and Engels. Their work was continued by a glorious con

stellation of Marxists, memory of whom is cherished by the international working-class movement—August Bebel and Franz Mehring, Paul Lafargue and Georgi Plekhanov, Antonio Labriola and Dimitar Blagoev, and many others."

The comrades who spoke at the conference stressed the greatness of Marx's life-long exploit, the invincible power of his ideas, their transformative revolutionary spirit, the determining influence of Marxism on social development and on the social destiny of mankind.

"The wide spectrum of parties, organizations and their representatives taking part in the conference, the substantial identity of views expressed in speeches on the most important problems of our time, the high appraisal of the work of Karl Marx and of the viability of his theory and its decisive impact on the revolutionary process today show that the teachings and work of the great thinker from Trier remain the basic criterion for explaining and refashioning social life," said Jorge Kolle, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bolivia.

"Karl Marx's historical service consists in his discovering in many-sided, outwardly hardly comprehensible social reality the objective laws of historical development and the abolition of exploiting social systems, as well as the emergence of a society based on respect for labour, on social justice, the genuine freedom of man and the equality of all peoples and races," said Vasil Bil'ak, Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. "Marx did not limit himself to sober cognition of the world. For him scientific truth was an instrument in the revolutionary transformation of society. As Vladimir Lenin aptly put it, 'Marxism differs

from all other socialist theories in the remarkable way it combines complete scientific sobriety in the analysis of the objective state of affairs and the objective course of evolution with the most emphatic recognition of the importance of the revolutionary energy, revolutionary creative genius, and revolutionary initiative of the masses—and also, of course, of individuals, groups, organizations, and parties that are able to discover and achieve contact with one or another class'.¹

"Marx's great and humanly rich life constantly combined an irrepressible striving for truth and a tireless struggle against the oppression and exploitation of people," said Paavo Löppönen, of the Social Democratic Party of Finland. "In this respect Marx belongs to the few whose work has considerably changed our notion of the world and of man."

Rolf Hagel, Chairman of the Board of the Swedish Workers' Communist Party, noted that his fellow-countryman Alfred Nobel had invented dynamite in 1867, the year when Karl Marx published the first volume of *Capital*, an even more powerful explosive. Dynamite was a revolutionizing discovery. The analysis and discoveries made by Karl Marx were for social development what dynamite was for mining. In the middle of the 19th century the position in Britain, the most highly developed capitalist country, gave rise to a new interpretation and a new perspective compared with what was being predicted by the most outstanding socialist utopians. The situation also demanded a different interpretation and different perspectives than those given by Thomas R. Malthus and other tame representatives of the capitalist system of exploitation. In short, there was a need for scientific analysis

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 36.

and for bold researchers capable of drawing revolutionary conclusions from this analysis.

That was when there appeared these great thinkers, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, who overcame all the prejudices of their time and began to regard history and the society from an entirely new point of view.

"The revolutionary theory of Karl Marx has changed and continues to change the world," said Khalid Bagdash, Secretary General of the Communist Party of Syria. "It has become the most widespread theory in the world. Some person or other may disagree with this or that proposition of Marx, but no one can deny the genius of Marx and his tremendous impact on the development of mankind."

The same idea was expressed in the speech of Mehdi Ibrahim Chehade, representative of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon. A century after the death of the great Karl Marx, who was a man of genius, his ideas and teachings are not merely abstract theoretical principles and philosophical reflections. They have become a specific tangible reality, because they have enabled the working class to build on the ruins of feudal and capitalist relations a socialist system embracing a considerable part of the population of the world, to win the minds of tens of millions of people in the capitalist countries who declare their adherence to the ideas and principles of Marxism. All this enables us to say that we are living in the age of the victory of the socialist revolution.

"There is no need to say what countless impulses the life and work of the great creator of scientific socialism give to all those who, relying on his main theoretical works and practical activities, are in our time making their contribution to the unending and hard struggle for world peace and the so-

cial progress of mankind," said Antonio Aranibar, Member of the Executive of the National Leadership of the Left Revolutionary Movement of Bolivia.

Ali Yata, General Secretary of the Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco, stressed that no other thinker in the world has exerted such influence on social life, history and science as Karl Marx, whose ideas have served and continue to serve as the lodestar for the world proletariat and all peoples consistently fighting for a genuinely free society. Scientific socialism today is not only theory and books—it is practice. Even among convinced opponents of Marxism, who dare deny its theoretical and practical importance, the objective greatness of Karl Marx?

"The 100th anniversary of Karl Marx is being marked all over the world," said Santiago Alvarez, representative of the Communist Party of Spain. "This fact is of great importance in itself; it testifies to the greatness and realism of the ideas of Marx, to the fact that they have become a vast material force. These ideas have been implemented in practice; they have exerted and continue to exert an influence on the contemporary history of society. Otherwise there would have been no need to turn to Marx a hundred years after his death. Would there be any need to speak so much of him if his ideas had not been the decisive factor in the changes that have taken place after 1917, if they were not present in the revolutionary reality of the contemporary world?

"Social and historical development is on the ascendant, as Marx and Engels predicted," Santiago Alvarez went on. "But it is following not a direct vertical line but a complex and contradictory spiral. As we observe the 100th anniversary of the death of the immortal teacher, the founder of Marxism, as

we speak of Marxism as a guide to action and not a dogma, as we see the gigantic successes achieved thanks to the teachings of Marx and Engels, later developed and enriched by Lenin and other revolutionaries, we are fortified in our conviction that these successes are only part of the successes which will be attained in the nearest future."

"The teaching of Marx is not a theory for theory's sake," said Milko Balev, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. "Philosophy explained the world before Marx as well. Marx set it the bold and lofty aim of promoting the refashioning of the world. And he himself set an immortal example both in theory and in revolutionary practice. His teaching is fully and wholly oriented to the requirements of practice. Marx himself said that one practical step in the revolutionary movement is worth a dozen programmes. Marx was also a great practical revolutionary. The fusion of theory and practice was one of Marx's behests to future functionaries and leaders of the communist and working-class movement, because the ability to develop both Marxism and the practice based on its principles stems directly from the dialectics of their mutual influence."

"Lenin was a thousand times right when he said that Marx's teachings are omnipotent because they are true," noted K. P. Silva, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka. "Marx's teachings have stood the test of time. They have proved to be the only social outlook that can supply mankind with credible answers to the most fundamental and urgent problems of our epoch. They have, at the same time, been an infallible guide to revolutionary action, which has shown mankind how to make its own history

and to fashion the world in such a way that all forms of exploitation are abolished and that everything is done for the benefit of man... Scientific communism is no longer a spectre haunting a single continent. It has become a mighty movement of millions in every continent of the world, the leading and militant vanguard of humanity's struggle for peace and a better life. More and more people rally to its banner every day."

"The work of Marx's lifetime, scientific socialism, has today, one hundred years after his death, greater ideological influence and importance than ever," stressed **Jørgen Jensen**, Chairman of the Danish Communist Party. "To millions of people all over the world socialism is a necessity for it shows the way out of the gravest crisis of human society. The dream of a society free of exploitation, of fear of the morrow became for Marx something that was concrete and attainable, because it was grasped as a natural and inevitable step along the road of social advance."

Ambagarai Guindo, Member of the Central Executive Bureau of the Democratic Union of the People of Mali, said that Marx was a man who made history and that the cause of Marx lives on as a guide to action for progressive mankind.

"In his speech at the graveside of Marx," noted **Rodney Arismendi**, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay, "Engels particularly emphasized two traits of Marx —his love of science and his exemplary life as a revolutionary. Engels said later that struggle was Marx's element. These two traits are inseparable from an understanding of Marx, from a grasp of the world-historic importance of his theory. In one of his works Lenin, the most outstanding follower of Marx and Engels, gave the following memorable

and precise definition: Marx saw all the value of his theory to lie in its being essentially a critical and revolutionary one. 'The irresistible attraction of this theory, which draws to itself the socialists of all countries, lies precisely in the fact that it combines the quality of being strictly and supremely scientific... with that of being revolutionary, it does not combine them accidentally and not only because the founder of the doctrine combined in his own person the qualities of a scientist and a revolutionary, but does so intrinsically and inseparably'.¹

"This dual quality of Marx's theory and method imparts to them a constancy and perpetual creative dynamism alien to any narrow scheme and any doctrinaire codification. But at the same time it is opposed in principle to wretched empiricism, to fashionable eclecticism, to any opportunist and tactical accommodation which would lead one away from the socialist revolutionary goal in the spirit of the discredited thesis of Bernstein: 'The end... is nothing, movement is everything.'"

Nguyễn Duc Tam, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, noted that together with Frederick Engels, his closest comrade-in-arms, Karl Marx lived a turbulent, rich, pure and noble life. His ideas and work are ageless and timeless and are a torch illumining the way for the working class, all working people and the peoples in the struggle for their liberation from exploitation and oppression by capital and in the course of the successful construction of a new society, socialism and communism. The doctrine of Marx has become a truly revolutionary and scientific world outlook, the ideological

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 327.

weapon of the proletariat called upon to know the world and to change it. Thanks to Marx socialism turned from a utopia into a science.

"Marx lives on in the heart of every genuine revolution," said **Jeremie Bonnelame**, Secretary of the Seychelles People's Progressive Front.

"Almost on all questions of importance to mankind we find ourselves on the same wavelength with those who confirm that they draw inspiration from the ideas of Karl Marx," said **C. M. Stephen**, General Secretary of the Indian National Congress.

The tremendous transformative force and viability of Marxist-Leninist ideas were referred to by **Girigissou Gado**, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Revolution Party of Benin; **Suleiman an-Nadjab**, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Palestinian Communist Party; **Noboru Wakabayashi**, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan; **Che Sim**, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, Chairman of the National Assembly of Kampuchea, Chairman of the Kampuchean United Front for National Construction and Defence; **Leroy Cooke**, Member of the Executive Committee of the People's National Party of Jamaica; **Mathiur Rahman**, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bangladesh, and other comrades.

Conference participants noted the exceptional influence of Marx's ideas on the development of theoretical thinking. There is hardly a social science today which does not feel the influence of that brilliant scholar, of his method and theory. The attitude towards the doctrine of the founders of scientific socialism has become the main arena of

cultural, ideological and political struggle. Marxism's strength lies in its constant creative development.

"The genius of Marx is precisely in the fact that he alone was able to furnish and provide tangible answers to questions the great minds of humanity had already raised but failed to answer in their speculative and metaphysical transcendentalism," said Eddison Zvogbo, Assistant Secretary of the Zimbabwe African National Union—Patriotic Front.

"Marxism is a guide, the only true guide, to action and the only legitimate successor... of German philosophy, English political economy and French socialism. Marxism-Leninism—the living soul of culture—must therefore be viewed in the sociological framework of militant action and omnipotent ideology which is true, complete and harmonious. It provides man with an integral view of the world... which cannot be reconciled with any form of superstition, reaction or defence of oppression and exploitation of man by man."

"A century after his physical death Karl Marx's stature has grown still more," stressed Volodia Teitelboim, Member of the Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile. "The so-called speculative philosophers of his time, against whom he argued, have long since been covered with a thick layer of the dust of oblivion. Those who have followed them in the course of the past century have gone by like a transient vogue. Marx, on the contrary, is always in the ranks. Marxism is not a vogue. It is the truth of history, the truth about the development of society. It is not an obsolete formula but an effective teaching, a prevision of the social process, a fresh and renewed answer to real movement, to the cardinal problems of social life. It is not a catechism, for it presup-

poses constant creative work in which the people invariably remains the protagonist and the revolution remains the determining task. Marx continues his work on our planet, his transformative work in many of its latitudes. As before, he wages a day-to-day struggle. His task has not been completed. His mission is an extremely complicated and responsible one. He never interrupts his work. He will not complete it as long as there remains a single oppressed people, a single exploited man."

"Together with Frederick Engels Karl Marx discovered and analyzed the objective laws of social development from the standpoint of historical and dialectical materialism," noted David Meroro, National Chairman of the South West Africa People's Organization of Namibia. "Their materialist and dialectical conception of human history enabled them not only to disclose the historical root cause of social evils of oppression and exploitation of man by man, namely, private ownership of the means of production. It also enabled them to develop a revolutionary theory which has provided the oppressed classes and nations with a dependable guide to action. This is to say that unlike the utopian socialists before them, the founders of scientific socialism understood perfectly well that in order to put an end to the social evil of the exploitation of man by man, the abolition of private ownership of the means of production must be brought about; and that the replacement of private ownership with collective and public ownership could not simply be achieved by moral persuasion. Against this background, Karl Marx, together with Engels, was able to confer moral and ideological legitimacy upon the revolutionary concept of class struggle. The key Marxist proposition has remained valid to these days as the most realistic guide to action for the work-

ing class and other exploited strata to liberate themselves from oppression and exploitation."

"The ideas of Marx, further developed by Lenin, have conquered our planet," stressed André Constant, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Martinique Communist Party. "For us Marxism is not some revelation, an immutable dogma before which one kneels. Marxism is above all a unique instrument of analysis, quest and discovery; it is a guide to action, a sum total of ideas transforming the world in any epoch... Dialectical and historical materialism enables us to make a successful analysis of social reality."

"Marxism discovered the laws of social development and the directions of this development," said Ahmed Salem, representative of the Communist Party of the Sudan. "Marxism rejects a routine approach, which would turn it into a dogma recognizing no new ideas. It is a social science to which the peoples and human thinking add newly acquired knowledge to the same extent to which man's activity in nature adds new knowledge to the various branches of natural science. Thanks to the interconnection of theory and practice scientific socialism is constantly being renovated. It would stagnate only if the human spirit made no progress and was no longer capable of cognition of what is new, of constant unlimited ascent."

"To Karl Marx goes the credit for working out the first materialist conception of history. This paved the way for cognition of the laws of social development and brought about a qualitative change in the social sciences. He also evolved the theory of surplus value, which reveals the roots and sources of the process of capitalist exploitation. But these ideas require a creative and not a mechanical ap-

proach. Marxism is a science and a guide to action in specific historical conditions. Each people accumulates its own experience regarding the way to socialism, basing itself on its own political, social and cultural traditions."

Sven Ove Hansson, of the Social Democratic Labour Party of Sweden, noted in his speech that the entire scientific activity of Marx was marked by an uncompromising search for truth and freedom from dogmatism. He stressed repeatedly that freedom from dogmatism was a necessary prerequisite of being useful to the working class with theoretical works. Dialectics according to Marx is free and critical thinking. He criticized those who engaged in "clumsy casuistry" and were not prepared, for their part, to blaze new trails of thinking which did not correspond to any of the already existing models.

Ton van Hoek, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Netherlands, said that the significance of the works of Karl Marx lies in his critical science and critical political theory, in his criticism of the existing conditions of power and domination. This essential critical function inspires us today as well. Today as never before it is necessary to restore this critical function, to get rid of dogmatic routine in the scientific, cultural and political spheres, to adopt an open, honest stand which puts emergent questions to the fore and calls for a creative, unorthodox approach to their solution.

"However, the creative approach does not signify lack of adherence to principle," stressed Herbert Mies, Chairman of the German Communist Party. "A creative approach does not rule out but presupposes defence of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. That is our understanding of the specific ap

lication of the teaching of Karl Marx in our time."

Roberto de Almeida, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the MPLA—Party of Labour of Angola, noted in his speech that Marxism is not a ready-made recipe for all situations, but a guide to the study of new realities and the working out of a corresponding political line. Marx's teaching is relevant today because it indicates ways of solving modern problems. It is exceedingly important to develop it constantly in accordance with the behests of the founders of Marxism-Leninism and with the victories and practical struggles of the international working class.

The life-giving force of Marxist doctrine, its ability to solve the most pressing problems of contemporary social development were referred to by **Ruben Dario Souza Batista**, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Party of Panama; **Daniel Lallemand**, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Réunion; **Hugo Miranda**, Member of the National Executive of the Radical Party of Chile; **Manuel Mora Valverde**, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica; **Ignacio Huguet**, Member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Uruguay; **Alcides Alvarado**, Political Secretary and Member of the Political Commission of the Left Nationalist Revolutionary Movement of Bolivia, and other comrades.

The vast international significance of the teaching of Karl Marx, the universal nature of the general laws governing the revolutionary transformation of the world discovered by him and at the same time the necessity of working out the strategy and tactics of the struggle for emancipation from social

and national oppression with due account for specific historical conditions and the particular features of this or that country were referred to by Rigoberto Padilla Rush, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Honduras; Giocondo Dias, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party; René Leon Maugé Mosquera, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador; George Hawi, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party; Enrique Bernales Ballesteros, representative of the Socialist Revolutionary Party of Peru; Joaquim Pedro Silva, Secretary and Member of the National Council of the African Party of the Independence of the Cape Verde Islands; David Meroro, National Chairman of the South West Africa People's Organization of Namibia, and many other participants in the conference.

"All progressive mankind pays a tribute of the deepest respect to Karl Marx," noted István Sarlós, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic. "In the first place it is those who follow him, living and working in accordance with his behests. But there is not a single capitalist theoretician or politician either who entirely ignores the teachings of Marx. Marx's ideas influence revolutionary and progressive movements and the intellectual life of the whole world. Depending on their ideological and political views, his opponents' views differ widely in assessing his life work and his ideas. But no matter from what ideological standpoint this work is approached, no one can deny Marx's scientific accomplishments and no one can turn back the inter-

national revolutionary movement which was initiated by Marx and which has grown mightily since his time."

"Today Marx's thought illumines and warms the whole planet," said **Bonata Dieng**, Head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party of Guinea. "Originating in the heart of old Europe, which it shook and upturned, Marx's thought became the banner of vast awakened Asia, insurrectionist colonized Africa and exploited rising-up America."

Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia, pointed out that at present there is not a single social theory in which one cannot, in some form or other, feel the influence of Marxism-Leninism. This influence is global, because the principles of Marxist-Leninist doctrine have been carried into practice in the socialist countries with due account of specific national and historical features.

Michel Kamel, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Egyptian Communist Party, noted that the name and cause of Marx, the great son of the German people and militant internationalist, live on, having become spread all over the world. This is attested to not only by the great authority of his brilliant theory about the development of human society, but also by the fact that the ideas of Marx have been realized in one-third of the planet, becoming a compass in the struggle of hundreds of millions of people living under different social regimes.

Christopher de Riggs, Member of the Central Committee of the New Jewel Movement of Grenada, pointed out that the Grenada Revolution conforms to the general laws of development as discovered by Marx and Engels and later developed by

Lenin. "The decline of British imperialism," he said, "created the material conditions for the political independence of Grenada and later, through our understanding and creative application of the general laws governing class societies and the adoption of concrete strategy and tactics, the Grenada Revolution itself occurred."

Carlos Rodriguez, Member of the United Revolutionary Leadership of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front of El Salvador, said that when an idea grips the masses as a result of the day-to-day work of revolutionary organizations, when this idea voices the innermost aspirations of the people, no ideology, no capitalist misinformation campaign can be of any success. As a result of the everyday struggles of the masses revolutionary ideas become their treasure, their consciousness, their material force. Precisely this transformation is being undergone by the ideas of Karl Marx in the towns and villages of El Salvador.

Nikola Stojanović, Secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, quoted these words of Josip Broz Tito: "The constant changes in everyday revolutionary practice in our revolutionary country are permeated to a decisive degree by the spirit of the great thinkers—Marx, Engels and Lenin. This science has never been a dogma to us, and its creators never desired this. But it illumines our revolutionary path for the building of socialism in our country."

The representative of the National Liberation Front of Bahrein drew attention to the fact that already in the Manifesto of the Communist Party Marx and Engels sharply criticized the reactionary essence of petty-bourgeois socialism and showed that not infrequently it serves the interests of the dom-

inant classes. This proposition is valid in our time as well. The tremendous authority of socialist ideas, the force of example demonstrated by the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries induce broad strata, widely differing in their origin and political orientation, to espouse the ideas of socialism. But, these ideas are often distorted, because nationalism prevails upon the "socialist" concepts of these forces, which cultivate not scientific socialism but various "other kinds" of socialism. Experience shows that there is only one socialism—the socialism of the working class, scientific socialism which has an internationalist character.

Great emphasis was laid at the conference on the idea of the immortality of Marxist teaching, of the collapse of capitalist "Marxology".

Abu Bakr Baa Dib, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party, said that when the heart of Karl Marx stopped beating one English capitalist newspaper wrote that the "red doctor" was dead and that with his death his philosophy would come to an end and his adherents would run away. But Marxism is not dead and its fire has not been extinguished. It has become the driving force of events in our era.

"How many generations of 'thinkers' hastened to proclaim that Marxism was a dead, obsolete teaching inapplicable to the conditions of the 'Western' world, as they bashfully called capitalism," noted Serge Pierre-Justin, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Guadeloupe Communist Party. "All this is empty talk. Marx influenced his epoch and is continuing to influence ours."

Abdel Aziz al-Otte, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Jordan Communist Party, stressed that even a century after the death of Marx leading learned capitalist personalities, ideologists and propagandists continue to expend great efforts and resources to prove the "untenability" of Marx's ideas. But the ideas of Marx illumine the world. Millions of people draw guidance from them and many hundreds of millions of fighters against imperialism, capitalism, fascism, racism and Zionism on all continents of our planet are drawing moral strength from them.

"Paradoxically, the very existence of criticism of Marxism in our day and the frequent statements to the effect that Marxism has been outdated by history serve to prove it has not lost its viability," noted Noboru Jagi, Member of the Central Executive Committee and Head of the International Bureau of the Central Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Japan. "In Japan, a country which Marx in his *Capital* called the most typical example of feudal society, the development of the socialist and working-class movement is closely associated with the name of Marx."

"In our day, a hundred years after the death of Marx, we can confidently say that Marx's ideas live on and are developing. It is highly indicative that the works of Karl Marx are spoken about and studied; they spur to action powerful movements for national and social emancipation not only at very authoritative scientific forums, but also among broad masses of the people. This fact alone would suffice to prove how erroneous were the assertions of those who for the past hundred years have hastened to declare Marx's doctrine a completely past and forgotten stage," noted Aldo Tortorella, Member of the Directorate of the Italian Communist

Party. "Every 'burial' has been followed by the revival of Marx's thought and today in the most highly developed capitalist countries many economists and social scientists, faced with crisis-born phenomena, feel the need to turn to Marx again. At the same time even those who for several years and in the very year of the 100th anniversary have again dug up the 'Marx-is-dead' thesis show by their actions that, on the contrary, he is more alive than ever. For there would be no need for such debates and negations of the power of Marx's ideas if these ideas do not to this day occupy an important place in cultural, theoretical and political searchings."

Jouko Kajanoja, Chairman of the Communist Party of Finland, said that everywhere, and in Finland too, attempts have been undertaken thousands of times to declare Marx's teaching obsolete and no longer viable. This idea is actively propounded by capitalist propagandists and sometimes also by social democratic leaders. But again and again, in connection with every important event or process taking place in the world, the basic theories of scientific socialism find confirmation.

"There are those who say that Marx's teachings are obsolete," said Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel. "Sometimes they add that one should not be dogmatic and not adhere to theories which may have been right for the 19th century but which no longer hold water today. Among them we find some who themselves treat the subject of Marx and Marxism in a dogmatic way. They confuse principles with details. Being no Marxists, they do not know or do not want to know that Marxism is not a dogma but a creative science undergoing a constant process of development, a guide to action and an aid

in understanding the course of both nature and society."

"Quite a few encroachments have been made on Marx's theory in history," noted **Kenneth Kvist**, Member of the Executive of the Left Party—Communists of Sweden. "There have been not only the conscious and open attacks on the part of dominant ideology, which often rests on a shaky theoretical foundation and is easily refuted. This is part of the political and theoretical class struggle. The theory of Marx has always been subject to attacks on the part of those who called themselves Marxists and participated in the Marxist movement. This has been done consciously or unconsciously, owing to insufficient understanding, an opportunist attitude towards the ideology of the dominant class or as a result of excessive faith in authority."

"Marxism has changed mankind's view of the world, many of its concepts, ideas and criteria. It has made its contribution to the modification of the political map of the world and has served as the basis for a profound transformation of the social and economic structure of society," said **Saad Kassem Hammudi**, representative of the Baath Party of Iraq.

"At one time 'Marxologists' of all kinds are counterposing the young Marx to Marx the revolutionary; at another time they are counterposing Marx to Lenin, who realized the main propositions of Marxism," said **Eduardo Callegos Mancera**, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela. "They need this primarily in order to negate the achievements of real socialism. They have made anti-Sovietism their principal weapon in order to toady to those rulers of the capitalist world who organize and finance such 'theorizing'."

Horst Schmitt, Chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, said that today all those who refute Marx are faced with the fact that there is nothing more viable than Marxism-Leninism. This is manifested in Western Europe, just as in Asia, Africa and Latin America, but above all in the countries of real socialism, which have been and remain the bulwark of the struggle of the peoples for peace and social progress.

Indissoluble Link Between the Creative Work of Marx and Lenin

A new stage in the development of the theory and practice of Marxism and great victories in the struggle for communist ideals are associated with the name of Vladimir Ulyanov-Lenin.

From the early 20th century Marxism is inconceivable without Leninism, without everything that the great Lenin contributed to the treasury of the scientific world outlook of the working class, to the strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle and socialist construction.

Having defended Marxism in the struggle against all sorts of revisionists and opportunists, Lenin on its basis worked out answers to the new questions that had arisen before the working-class movement, the masses of working people and the whole of mankind in new historical conditions.

Conference participants spoke about Lenin as the great continuer of the cause of Marx and Engels, one who made a tremendous contribution to the further development of all the components of their doctrine.

"The name of Lenin is indissolubly linked with the names of Marx and Engels and it is written

in letters of fire by socialism, which has triumphed in 14 countries; it has become the mainstay and inspirer of the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle on three continents," stressed **Rodney Arismendi**, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay.

"The first decisive test of Marx's scientific theory was left to Lenin," said **Cheddi Jagan**, General Secretary of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana. "Lenin effectively defended and developed Marxism in the new historical stage that appeared at the turn of the 19th century. . . . Marx's theory, tested in practice and significantly enriched by Lenin, developed into Marxism-Leninism."

"Lenin raised Marxism to a new stage," said **Demchigiyn Molomjamts**, Member of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.

"The great Lenin, practitioner and defender of Marxist theory, led the way when he ushered in Red October, abolished exploitation in Russia and through his Bolshevik Party brought into being the great defender of the working and oppressed people everywhere. He was a man of action, a resilient revolutionary," said **Eddison Zvogbo**, Assistant Secretary of the Zimbabwe African National Union—Patriotic Front.

"In the present epoch the revolutionary doctrine of Marx is organically linked with the doctrine of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, another great thinker and great revolutionary fighter for the liberation of mankind from all forms of slavery and oppression," said **Carlos Correia**, Member of the Political Bureau of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands.

The indissoluble bond between Marxism and Leninism was stressed by many speakers.

Marxism-Leninism is a single whole. All attempts to counterpose Marxism to Leninism are doomed to failure.

"Marxism and Leninism are organically interconnected," stressed Khalid Bagdash, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Syria.

"No one can declare: 'I am a Marxist but not a Leninist.' A distinguishing feature of everyone who calls himself a Marxist today is recognition of Lenin's theory, unity with the country of Lenin—the Soviet Union—and its glorious party."

"Karl Marx did not live to see the victory of the October Revolution," said Volodia Teitelboim, Member of the Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile, "but it was the greatest victory of not only Lenin, but also of Marx. In Marx and Lenin two epochs merged into a single theory of revolution."

"Marxism was tremendously enriched thanks to the titanic work of Lenin the thinker and revolutionary," said Alvaro Cunhal, Secretary General of the Portuguese Communist Party. "Lenin not only raised the theory of Marxism to new heights, but also carried it into reality and, heading the Communist Party, laid the foundations of the vanguard socialist state which initiated a new era in the history of mankind."

"The name of Lenin is inseparable from the name of Karl Marx," stressed Athos Fava, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Argentina. "Marxism-Leninism is our constant guide in understanding and transforming our national realities."

"We Marxists say that the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin form a whole," said Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the

Communist Party of Israel. "In other words: there is no Marxism by itself and no Leninism by itself, but there is Marxism-Leninism. Lenin developed Marx's theory more fully, applying it to the new era and taking into account the new experience gained. One can even go further than that. If Marx had lived in the 20th century his theory would have led him, in the face of changed historical conditions, to arrive at the same... concrete conclusions as Lenin and the Leninists."

In Leninism Marx's doctrine was raised to a new and higher stage because Lenin as a convinced follower and co-thinker of Marx and Engels deeply perceived the creative essence of Marxism incompatible with obduracy and stagnation of thought. Lenin never tired of stressing that Marxism is not a dogma, but a living creative teaching drawing its forces from the revolutionary experience of the masses. And he himself gave supreme examples of such an approach.

Applying, with unsurpassed skill, Marx's dialectical method, Lenin made great theoretical discoveries with which is indissolubly linked the substance of the Leninist stage in the development of Marxism.

It was stressed at the conference that Lenin, like no one else, could clearly see the boundary beyond which discourses on changed conditions can turn into ideological unscrupulousness and opportunist diffusion. History shows that creative development of Marxism-Leninism is possible only on the basis of its main principles. Particular assessments and propositions made on the basis of an analysis of particular specifically-historical events can become obsolete. But arbitrary and thoughtless abandonment of the fundamental propositions of Marxism-Leninism leads, as a rule, to ideological

vacillation and retreats, and these lead to serious political setbacks. The principles of Marxist-Leninist teaching have been tested by international practice; they serve as a powerful effective instrument of cognition and of the revolutionary creative work of millions.

It was stressed by **Milko Balev**, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, that the brilliant theoretical and practical creative work of Lenin is the most impressive expression of the creative essence of Marxism, of its ability to develop and perfect itself, to enrich itself and acquire specific forms in a new historical situation.

The creative character of Leninism was referred to by **Nguyễn Duc Tam**, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam; **Kim Tschungrin**, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea; **Franz Muhri**, Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria; **Aldo Tortorella**, Member of the Directorate of the Italian Communist Party and **Hans Kleven**, Chairman of the Communist Party of Norway.

Conference participants noted that Leninism is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism, of the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism.

"If Marx, basing himself on a deep study of pre-monopoly capitalism, erected in general outline the main theoretical edifice of scientific socialism for the working class," said **Roberto de Almeida**, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the MPLA—Party of Labour of Angola, "Lenin raised the revolutionary theory to a new stage corresponding to the stage of monopoly capitalism, the epoch of proletarian revolutions and the worldwide transition from

capitalism to socialism. Thus, Leninism is the Marxism of the modern epoch."

Leroy Cooke, Member of the Executive Committee of the People's National Party of Jamaica, said that Lenin's greatness lies in his extension of Marx's theories to deal with capitalism in its imperialist phase and in his creative application of Marxism for the solution of problems of socialist construction.

Jesús Montané Oropesa, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, said that all the contradictions and trends of the capitalism of the epoch of free competition and the main features of imperialism, described later by Lenin, are manifesting themselves particularly vividly today, refuting the theories of the apologists of modern capitalism. First Marx and then Lenin showed that capitalism ever more clearly revealed its parasitic, irrational character, becoming a burden on society and an obstacle to its development.

"We all know well the importance of the theoretical and practical legacy of Vladimir Lenin, who enriched the theory of scientific socialism by reflecting the new reality of our age," noted Abou Hatem, representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization. "But today imperialism is acquiring new features in addition to those spotlighted by Lenin at the beginning of this century. Imperialism is not only exporting capital to developing countries, but has begun to take capital out of these countries. One only has to cast a glance at the destiny of petro-dollars to see the dangerous consequences of this new process."

"Lenin applied the propositions on revolution contained in Marx's theory to the solution of the new

theoretical and practical problems of the working-class movement in the epoch of imperialism," said **Kazimierz Barcikowski**, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party.

"Lenin, the greatest continuer of the cause of Marx, creatively applied his method in the study of the monopoly stage of capitalism," said **Gilberto Vieira**, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Colombian Communist Party. "Lenin proved that the uneven development of capitalism at this stage made possible the victory of socialism in countries where class contradictions are particularly acute."

"In the new historical conditions, marked by capitalism's transition to its imperialist stage, Lenin was able to defend the essence of Marxism and to develop it creatively," said **Suleiman an-Nadjab**, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Palestinian Communist Party. "Thereby the name of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin became indissolubly linked with the name of Karl Marx and Leninism became the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism, the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale. It is impossible to separate Leninism from Marxism."

René Leon Maugé Mosquera, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador, and **Julian Peña**, Member of the Political Commission and Executive of the Central Committee of the Dominican Communist Party, pointed to the greatness of Lenin's contribution to the elaboration of the theory of scientific socialism, to the struggle to eradicate the exploitation of "wage slaves".

Conference participants noted that Lenin substantially enriched the theory and practice of rev-

olutionary struggle. Under his leadership the Great October Socialist Revolution was accomplished and for the first time ever a society without the exploitation of man by man was built. Lenin showed that the stage of imperialism is the eve of the socialist revolution. His conclusion about the possibility of the victory of the proletarian revolution first in several countries and even in a single country was a tremendous contribution to the creative development of Marxism.

Marx's teaching about the world-historic role of the proletariat, which was developed by Lenin in relation to the modern era, serves to this day as the starting-point in the solution of all questions linked with the exercise by the working class of its hegemony in the course of the struggle for democracy and socialism, with the working out of the strategy of class alliances and in the first place the alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry, with ensuring the leading role of the working class in socialist construction.

"Mankind had the good fortune to find in Lenin a consistent continuer of Marx's work," noted Vasil Bil'ak, Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. "Lenin comprehensively developed Marx's doctrine and built the revolutionary vanguard of the working class which led the people of Russia to the Great October Socialist Revolution and to the victory of socialism."

"Preserving the essence of Marx's ideas and applying them to the new conditions of the epoch of imperialism, Lenin worked out the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle against monopoly capital and headed this struggle," said István Sarlós, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist

Workers' Party and Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic. "Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party founded by him, the people of Russia accomplished the Great October Socialist Revolution, which was a radical turn in the history of mankind."

"Marxist-Leninists know that the whole progressive social development of our century has proceeded and is proceeding as a result of the historical process in which the Great October Socialist Revolution and the existence of the Soviet Union play the role of an attractive and driving force," stressed Alvaro Cunhal, Secretary General of the Portuguese Communist Party.

"The October Revolution made the first and decisive breach in the walls on which capitalist society rests," said Clodomiro Almeyda, Secretary General of the Socialist Party of Chile. "It was a difficult, complicated but constant ascending which was accompanied by successes and errors but which was ultimately always directed forward, and which as a result of its materialization in the Soviet Union and the socialist community of states gave rise to what has become the decisive force and bulwark in the multiform struggle of the peoples of the whole world for democracy, peace, national independence and socialism."

The impact of Lenin's ideas and practical deeds and of the victory of the Great October Revolution on the revolutionary transformation of the world was referred to by Julian Peña, Member of the Political Commission and Executive of the Central Committee of the Dominican Communist Party; Chea Sim, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, Chairman of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Kampuchea,

Chairman of the Council of the Kampuchean United Front for National Construction and Defence; Abdulla al-Ahmar, Assistant Secretary General of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party of Syria; Chiaka Anozie, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Socialist Working People's Party of Nigeria; Romão Pereira de Couto, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Movement for the Liberation of São Tomé and Príncipe, and many others.

"Just as Marx developed his ideas and responded to the movement of events, it is necessary for Marxists today to meet the challenges of our time, and the new problems arising from changes in the world, in capitalism, in the newly independent countries and in the socialist countries," said Gordon McLennan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain. "This creative approach to Marxism has been the basis for the study of the specific conditions of many very different countries, in the course of which Marxist theory has been further developed.

"The outstanding example of this was undoubtedly Lenin's own searching analysis of the specific situation in Russia and the resulting strategy which culminated in the first socialist revolution, the first break in the global power of capitalism and imperialism, and the birth of the first socialist system."

Many speakers stressed that Lenin closely linked the problems of the struggle for social emancipation with the solution of the national question, with the struggle for national liberation.

"The development of all of the revolutionary teachings of Marx and his comrade Frederick Engels," pointed out Michael O'Riordan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland, "and no

less the national question aspect as such was well and truly carried out by V. I. Lenin in the changed conditions of the age of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. Marxism-Leninism was in the Irish historic sense proved correct by Lenin's championship of the Great Dublin Strike of 1913 and his brilliant defence of the Irish Rebellion of 1916 against the characterization of that anti-imperialist rising as 'a putsch'.

"As Lenin predicted the struggle for national liberation has developed into a struggle for social liberation and the national liberation movement is today an integral part of the world revolutionary process."

"It should be specially stressed," said Bonata Dieng, Head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party of Guinea, "that the powerful national liberation movement of the colonial peoples, which rolled as an irresistible tide from Asia through the Middle East to the South of Africa, drew its strength from, and found a bulwark in, the victory of the proletariat of Russia headed by the great Lenin, the unbending, brilliant disciple of Marx and continuer of his cause."

It was pointed out in the speech of Abdel Aziz al-Otte, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Jordan, that Lenin developed Marxist theory with due account of the conditions of the socialist and national liberation revolutions, of the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

"Lenin augmented and further developed the theory of national liberation movements, which to this day fully retains its relevance," said Gisèle Rabesahala, Secretary General of the Independence Congress Party of Madagascar.

"Historical experience has shown," said Nikola Stojanović, Secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, "that the struggle of the working class can be truly revolutionary and internationalist only when it is at the same time a struggle against all national oppression, for the complete emancipation of all nations."

"From the political and ideological viewpoints, the Guadeloupe Communist Party is the product of work solidarity, of proletarian internationalism," stressed Serge Pierre-Justin, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Guadeloupe Communist Party. "Our introduction to the teaching of Marx enriched by Lenin and relying today on the might of the socialist community, whose mainstay has been and remains the Soviet Union, the 60th anniversary of which was widely observed in the world recently, took place with the participation of the French Communist Party, which was headed in those years by class fighters of such calibre as Maurice Thorez, Jacques Duclos and Marcel Cachin."

"We are convinced that in Central America we have embarked upon a path indicated by history itself," declared Rodrigo Gutiérrez, Chairman of the United People Coalition of Costa Rica, "the path which was discovered by Marx, Engels and Lenin, the path along which dozens of countries now advance and on which victory was scored by the Great October Socialist Revolution."

It was stressed in many speeches that the elaboration of the teaching on the revolutionary party of a new type and the founding of such a party was Lenin's great contribution to revolutionary theory.

"Having created a revolutionary party of a new type, the Party of Bolsheviks, Lenin headed the world's first workers' revolution which ushered in a new era in the history of mankind, the era of socialism," noted the representative of the National Liberation Front of Bahrain. "The consolidation of workers' and peasants' power in Soviet Russia, the voluntary union of dozens of peoples and nations, the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Lenin's titanic work to unify the working-class movement, especially within the framework of the Third International — all this gave a fresh impulse to the penetration of Marxism into the hearts and minds of new millions of working people not only in Europe and America, but also in such continents, new in this sense, as Asia and Africa, including the Middle East, where communist and workers' parties emerged taking their guidance from scientific communism, from the ideas of Marx and Lenin. The world witnessed the beginning of a mighty upsurge of the anti-colonial movement of the peoples. Today Marxism lives in every corner of our planet.

"The wide dissemination of the ideas of Marxism in different continents, the successive victories of the peoples are material proof of the international character of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which in fact reflect the class and national-patriotic aspirations of the working people of every country.

"Despite all the campaigns of repression and terror conducted against Communists, despite the frenzied activity of the anti-communist propaganda of the capitalists, the ideas of Marx and Engels have never been so widespread as today. This is the result, first of all, of the successes and victories of the socialist states, of their unselfish internationalist support for the fighting peoples, whose respect for,

gratitude to, and admiration of the socialist community, headed by the great Soviet Union, are growing constantly."

"Relying on the fundamental ideas of Marx, Lenin evolved the theory of a party of a new type; he determined the features of the organization which can lead the working class to power and ensure the successful construction of socialism," said Addis Tedla, Member of the Executive Committee of the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia.

"The strength of a Communist Party," noted Herbert Mies, Chairman of the German Communist Party, "is determined not only by the size of its membership. What is also always of decisive importance is whether it bases all its activities on the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Ultimately such a communist party will become the force which can not only deeply analyze social processes, but also revolutionize and eventually change society."

Leninism, conference participants noted, is an expression of the laws governing world social development. It is not a narrowly national, Russian doctrine but a global one. The doctrine of Marx and Lenin is a great force transforming the contemporary world.

Leninism came into being in Russia. It is indissolubly linked with its revolutionary destinies, with the requirements and tasks of the struggle of the proletariat of Russia, with the heroic achievements of its Bolshevik Party. But it is also indisputable that from the very beginning Leninism took shape and asserted itself on the basis of drawing general conclusions from the experience of the whole of the world revolutionary liberation movement. And today, the conference participants noted, Leninism

is in its essence and character a doctrine of truly worldwide significance.

"The enrichment of Marxist theory by Lenin was not a purely Russian phenomenon," said **Ahmed Salem**, representative of the Communist Party of the Sudan. "The teaching of Lenin is a further development of Marxism; it makes it possible to speak of a single doctrine—Marxism-Leninism."

"History has vindicated Leninism, and Leninism has proven Marx to be correct," said **William Kash-tan**, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada. "The policies of Marxism-Leninism have succeeded in overcoming the most pressing problems of mankind. This is why Marxism has struck deep roots in all continents, demonstrating its universal validity within its varied forms and transitional stages."

"The formation of the world socialist system, the break-up of the colonial system of imperialism, the development of the working-class movement, the mounting struggle of the peoples against imperialist war, for peace—all this is a triumph of the revolutionary transformative ideas of Marxism-Leninism," said **Demchigiyn Molomjamts**, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.

"World historic development is taking place along the path charted by Marx, Engels and Lenin," said **Rajeshwara Rao**, General Secretary of the National Council of the Communist Party of India. "The final triumph of socialism the world over is not in doubt. No force on Earth can halt the march of history in this direction."

"Lenin was fully aware that the theoretical conclusions of social science and very attractive slogans are worth little unless they are fused with

the revolutionary struggle of the working class and backed up with ideological and organizational work among the masses," said Mikhail Zimyanin, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. "Lenin deeply understood and comprehensively expounded the growing role of the subjective factor in the struggle for socialism in new historical conditions. Developing the ideas of Marx, Lenin evolved the teaching on a party of a new type, called upon to wed the mass working-class movement to scientific socialism. And Lenin built such a party.

"Lenin's theory on ways of building socialism is the summit of his teaching. Moreover, Lenin headed the putting of this theory into practice.

"The leader of the October Revolution worked out the fundamental norms of party and state activity, which we call Leninist. Strict observance of Leninist norms, of a Leninist style of work, organically combining scientific foresight and realism, high organization and initiative, a business-like approach and a critical attitude towards shortcomings, are the guarantee of the consolidation of the party's ties with the masses of the people, of the moral and political unity of society.

"There is no social, political or philosophical doctrine in the world which can compare with Marxism-Leninism for depth and precision of analysis, for strength and scale of influence on very broad masses of the people. This is seen also by our ideological opponents. So it is little wonder that all who want to prevent the revolutionary transformation of the world are trying to knock out of the hands of the revolutionary forces their ideological weapon.

"The variety of means they resort to ranges widely—from direct attempts to discredit Marx-

ism-Leninism to more refined, sophisticated methods. There is a striving to counterpose 'Western' or 'European' Marxism to 'Russian' or 'Eastern' Leninism. There is propagation of the concept of the 'pluralism' of Marxism. There is, finally, the striving of the enemies of Marxism, which is scoring ever new victories, to parade as Marxists.

"All these efforts are in vain. The ideological battle around Marxism-Leninism is unfolding under the aegis of the historical correctness of our doctrine. But this struggle is not an easy or a simple one. We cannot fail to see that the ideas of capitalist ideologists and revisionists and reformists of different hues are exerting a definite influence on some circles, including those in the working-class and national liberation movements.

"We have a tested Marxist-Leninist class criterion for distinguishing true from sham revolutionism, scientific socialism from various forgeries. This criterion includes the attitude of particular individuals, groups or trends not only towards the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, but also towards its living embodiment—real socialism."

Real Socialism—Practical Embodiment of the Ideas of Marxism-Leninism

One of the keynotes of the conference was the idea that the process of socialist and communist construction in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is the weightiest, most vivid proof of the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist teaching.

Mikhail Zimyanin, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, noted in his speech: "Today, when socialism has become specific substance of the life of hundreds of millions of people in many countries, one fully understands the desire to compare the theoretical picture of socialism drawn by Marx with real socialism. And we understand those comrades who ask what of all which was foreseen by the founders of the revolutionary theory has already been realized and what has it not yet been possible to carry fully into practice.

"Our ideological adversaries try to capitalize on certain divergencies between particular aspects of socialist practice and the socialist ideal. At one time they hold forth about an alleged 'deficiency'

of real socialism, which allegedly needs 'humanizing', at another time they contend that Marx's theoretical views have become 'obsolete'.

"What can be said on this score? The very course of historical development has borne out all—I stress, all—the fundamental conclusions of the theory of scientific communism. The abolition of private ownership of the basic means of production, the elimination of exploitation, unemployment and crises, the planned development of production, the subordination of the latter to the interests of the wellbeing of the people, the birth of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which, as practice shows, gradually develops into a state of the whole people, the ensuring of genuine democracy—all these are inalienable features of real socialism, testifying to the great vitality and historical correctness of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

"Summing up the results of the path traversed, we are fully entitled to say, after Lenin, that we have built socialism in accordance with Marxist teaching, basing ourselves on Marx's conclusions about the essence and basic principles of the organization of a new society."

In his speech Mikhail Zimyanin pointed to the living connection of Marxism-Leninism with the tasks now being accomplished by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. "It can be confidently said that at the present stage of the development of socialism in our country the necessity for a Marxist analysis of social phenomena is assuming special importance. Let us take Marx's forecast of the development of the social structure of socialism. Assessing the experience of the development of our society in past decades, the 26th CPSU Congress put forward the proposition that

the formation of a classless structure of society will mainly and principally take place within the historical framework of real socialism.

"The correctness of the fundamental ideas of Marxism-Leninism as to the nature of national relations under socialism is also being confirmed. The USSR has successfully solved one of the most complex social questions, the nationalities question, which we inherited from the past. Characteristic of the Soviet system today is the internationalist unity, fraternal friendship and co-operation of the peoples.

"Thinking about the communist society of the future, Marx believed that in it people would organize the production process so rationally that it would proceed 'with the least expenditure of energy and under conditions most favourable to, and worthy of, their human nature'.¹ This fusion of rationality and humanism finds ever fuller expression today.

"With economic growth as the basis, social programmes are being constantly expanded and conditions are being improved for the all-round development of the personality, for the education of the new man, which Marx, Engels and Lenin called the supreme goal of communism. . .

"The CPSU is fully aware of existing difficulties and unsolved problems, of the new tasks that are arising before the Soviet people in the last decades of the 20th century. Comrade Yuri Andropov stresses: 'Taken together, these tasks amount to what could be described as the improvement of developed socialism. . . Our country is at the beginning of this long historical stage which, in

¹ K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 3, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow 1962, p. 800.

turn, will naturally have its periods and its stages of growth.'

"... Proceeding from a comprehensive assessment of the possibilities of mature socialism and of the features of the current international situation," Mikhail Zimyanin said in conclusion, "the CPSU has elaborated and is now implementing the strategy of the further advance of Soviet society."

Speeches by representatives of communist and workers' parties of socialist countries give a broad picture of the embodiment of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in the life of their peoples.

Milko Balev, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, said that today we are witnessing the triumph of the ideas and cause of Marx in Bulgaria, a country of real socialism. In his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* Marx describes the first phase of communist society as the childhood of communism. "We can state with satisfaction," said Milko Balev, "that this 'childhood' of communism in Bulgaria has been a healthy and vigorous one, with many signs of active 'acceleration' and with good prospects of an even more rapid advance."

István Sarlós, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, said that in the several decades of their existence the socialist countries have accomplished truly historic tasks despite tremendous difficulties and frequent hostile sallies. They have eliminated exploitation, removed serious social distinctions and made vast progress in the economic, social and cultural spheres.

Nguyễn Duc Tam, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, said that the emergence of the world socialist system is a very great triumph of Marxism-Leninism. The socialist states have rapidly consolidated their strength and built up their potential. On an ever increasing scale they are demonstrating the advantages of the new system, which is based on public ownership of the means of production and in which the working people, led by the party of the working class, are the real masters.

Kim Tschungrin, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, stressed that socialism had won and was demonstrating its indestructible viability in many parts of the world.

Jesús Montané Oropesa, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, noted that socialism, which first became a reality in the Soviet Union and soon developed into a world system, is today the strategic mainstay of revolutionary transformations in the world.

Phoumi Vongvichit, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, described the realization of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in his country.

Demchigiyn Molomjamts, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, declared that in our time really existing socialism is the main and supreme manifestation of the correctness and viability of Marxist-Lenin-

ist doctrine. Without consideration of its experience and achievements it has become simply impossible to speak of loyalty or adherence to the great doctrine of the founders of scientific socialism.

Kazimierz Barcikowski, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, dwelt at length on the proposition that in the history of the Polish working-class movement Marxist thought constituted the theoretical weapon of revolutionary forces in the struggle to overthrow the exploitative system and build socialism.

Dumitru Popescu, Member of the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, Rector of the Gheorghiu Academy, said: "The reality of Romania, characterized by final liberation from exploitation and oppression, the mighty progress of the productive forces and the establishment of a new material, intellectual, social and ethical civilization—despite all the difficulties, historical limitations and errors which we still come across—constitutes a brilliant confirmation of the correctness of Marx's thought, of the viability of the thesis that socialism is the alternative to capitalism, a mode of production eliminating antagonisms and social inequality, the highest stage of the organization of human existence."

Achievements of real socialism were referred to by **Vasil Bil'ak**, Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. "The profound changes in the life of the working people," he said, "the social security guaranteed by socialism show vividly that we are advancing along the correct road indicated by Marxism-Leninism. The most

important thing is that the people themselves govern their state, they are its masters and they decide all affairs. In the exercise of their power the people cannot use either the old political superstructure or the old structure of the economic basis. To the system of public ownership corresponds the political system of workers' power, the state system in which the people realize their sovereign will. To the stage of socialism attained by us the form of bourgeois pluralism is as obsolete as the forms of the political system of feudalism are obsolete for developed capitalism.

"We recommend those critics who so often contend that our socialism does not correspond to the vision of Marx, to come to our country, despite their distortion of Marx's views on socialism, and to acquaint themselves with our reality, with the experience of real socialism, with our problems, and not to act like people who know precisely how the neighbour's children should be brought up but cannot cope with their own children, if any."

Assessments connected with the realization of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism figured prominently in speeches by the representatives of communist parties fighting for the cause of the working class in developed capitalist states.

Franz Muhri, Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria, declared, for instance, that the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and other countries of real socialism have translated into reality such fundamental idea of Marx and Engels as abolition of the exploitation of man by man on the basis of socialization of the basic means of production, the idea of the leading role of the working class in the new state, in society, and Marx's idea that the abolition of the economic and

political power of capital and the emancipation of the working class are at the same time prerequisites for securing the equality of nations, for eliminating the discrimination of women and for the harmonious development of the individual.

As Franz Muhri further said, the superiority of real socialism in basic issues over the capitalist system of exploitation manifests itself particularly vividly precisely in the present situation, when the general crisis of capitalism is deepening and growing ever more acute. In contrast to the insecurity, economic crisis and mass unemployment characteristic of capitalist countries, under socialism social confidence and full employment exist.

Various aspects of the implementation of Marx's ideas in the countries of real socialism were noted by Herbert Mies, Chairman of the German Communist Party; Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States; Jørgen Jensen, Chairman of the Danish Communist Party; Michael O'Riordan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland, and others.

"In our time the ideas of Karl Marx live on in the Soviet Union and in all the countries where the peoples have done away with the power of capital," said Rolf Hagel, Chairman of the Board of the Swedish Workers' Communist Party.

George Jackson, National Secretary of the New Zealand Socialist Unity Party, declared: "The test of the validity and relevance of any person claiming to be a Marxist is the attitude they take to real existing socialism in the USSR and the socialist bloc. This is the outstanding contribution of the working class to the liberation of all humanity. It is the guarantee of steadily moving toward the universal overcoming of the heritage of

the past brought about by the lingering existence of capitalism in decay."

Many representatives of communist, revolutionary democratic and national democratic parties of developing countries noted the great importance of real socialism as an example, as an experience in carrying Marx's doctrine into life. Among them were **K. P. Silva**, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka; **Ahmed Salem**, representative of the Communist Party of the Sudan; **Roberto de Almeida**, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the MPLA—Party of Labour of Angola; **Michel Kamel**, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Egyptian Communist Party; **Ali Yata**, General Secretary of the Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco; **Volodia Teitelboim**, Member of the Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile; **Jorge Kalle**, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bolivia, and **Leroy Cooke**, Member of the Executive of the People's National Party of Jamaica.

Cheddi Jagan, General Secretary of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, expressed this idea as follows: "With its tremendous achievements, real socialism is exerting a strong influence and an irresistible appeal on the world's peoples who have not yet taken this path... These developments... irrefutably show the impact and dynamism of Marx's ideas and the vitality of Marxism-Leninism."

It was noted in the address of the Communist Party of the Philippines: "In our time, the transition from capitalism to socialism has gone a long way. Its manifestations are clearly marked out in

the main currents of world developments which generate favourable conditions for all aspects of the international class struggle. Socialism in one country has grown into a world system whose economic potential and political authority command a tremendous force for the defence of revolutionary gains, for social emancipation and consolidation of national independence of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America."

Many speakers emphasized the world-historic importance of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the great role of the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the USSR, the trail-blazer in socialist transformations.

Expressing the deep respect of Bulgarian Communists for the exploit of the revolutionary people of Russia, **Milko Balev**, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, said: "We see again and again the epochal significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution, of the role and example of the CPSU in building a new type of human society in the Soviet Union as the first all-embracing practical implementation of Marxism-Leninism and at the same time a new historical basis for its development, as the first state which made the struggle for peace its top priority task."

The influence of the ideas of the October Revolution on the course of revolution in their countries was stressed by **Vasil Bil'ak**, Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; **Nguyễn Duc Tam**, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, and others.

Demchigiyn Molomjamts, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, noted: "As a result of these historic changes a new world has emerged, which is fighting against everything that is old and outdated, fighting for progress, for a society without exploitation, and without national and racial oppression. The exceptionally difficult historical mission of explorer in this new world has been always worthily fulfilled by the first socialist country, the Soviet Union. Therefore, its experience and that of other countries in building a new society is of vast international importance."

The significance of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution was referred to by **Meir Vilner**, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel; **Jørgen Jensen**, Chairman of the Danish Communist Party; **Moses Mabhida**, General Secretary of the South African Communist Party; **Carlos Correia**, Member of the Political Bureau of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands; and **Daniel Vincent**, representative of the United Party of Haitian Communists.

Noboru Jagi, Member of the Central Executive Committee and Head of the International Bureau of the Central Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Japan, stressed that the victory of the Great October Revolution roused deep interest in scientific socialism among Japanese workers.

"The October Revolution and the emergence and consolidation of the world socialist system," said the representative of the **National Liberation Front of Bahrein**, "are of historic importance because they proved to the working class and all working

people that the ideal of communism is not a fantasy, that it is feasible."

It was characteristic of the speeches of the majority of delegations that real socialism was discussed with a clear understanding of the problems and difficulties with which the socialist countries are confronted both because of pressure on the part of imperialism and for internal reasons of an objective and subjective character. The representatives of many fraternal parties sharply criticized attempts to belittle the achievements of real socialism.

"Embarking upon socialist construction in our country," said Mikhail Zimyanin, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "the party could not rely on any experience of preceding development. There could be no denying that it was a tremendously difficult job, all the more so because the old world was not only offering frantic resistance from within. Imperialism sought in every way to strangle socialism in the grip of diplomatic and economic blockades and military intervention. Fascist aggression became a gruelling test for our country. The Soviet people withstood all this, upheld the socialist system, their independence and freedom, and saved other peoples from enslavement and extermination. Socialism won fully and definitively in the USSR. Of course, there were mistakes and shortcomings, and the CPSU spoke openly about these.

"The party and the people," he continued, "are concentrating their efforts on solving urgent problems of the country's social and economic development on the basis of the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and the November (1982) plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. The meeting deeply analyzed the course of the ful-

fillment of the 11th five-year plan and pinpointed, as befits Communists, the difficulties and shortcomings in our work. Key tasks of communist construction, of further strengthening the economic and defence potential of our country were set in the decisions of the November plenary meeting of the Central Committee, in Comrade Yuri Andropov's speeches at that meeting and at the meeting to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR. The Soviet people are working selflessly to carry out the plans of the party.

"We do not conceive of the successful solution of the problems arising before us without constantly deepening socialist democracy. Our aim is to secure ever more active participation of the masses of working people in running state and public affairs, to promote their creative initiative and independent action in all spheres of life.

"All this does not, of course, mean that the mechanism of socialist democracy in our country has reached perfection. There are still many cases of bureaucratic practice and lack of attention to the requirements of people. The party is waging a persistent struggle against such phenomena.

"As Marx and Engels stressed, 'the Communists... are... practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country...'¹ To conform to this definition has invariably been the aim of our Leninist Party. A tried and tested vanguard of the working class and the entire people, closely knit ideologically, politically and organizationally, our party acts, as Lenin put it, as the collective teacher and

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1976, p. 120.

leader of the masses of the people.”¹ Mikhail Zimyanin said in conclusion.

Milko Balev, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, said: “We see very well what we have achieved and what we have not yet achieved. It so happened historically that until now socialist revolutions have been accomplished in countries at a medium or low level of development, and not in highly developed capitalist states. Our path has proved to be longer and more difficult. In addition to difficulties of an objective character we must note some subjective weaknesses and mistakes. Moreover, we did not promptly expose non-antagonistic contradictions which inevitably arose in the course of construction, and belatedly took measures to remove them. There were instances of pushing things too far, there were attempts to run ahead of the development of events and to settle questions when the conditions and prerequisites for this did not exist. Many different things happened.

“But every objective person can see the scope and profundity of the revolutionary transformations that have taken place in the countries of real socialism. That is the main thing. It is the great historical truth of real socialism.

“Our party,” Milko Balev continued, “firmly adheres to the view that real socialism is developing and improving, getting rid of shortcomings and is not only approximating to the ideals outlined by Marx, Engels and Lenin, but is also constituting their specific materialization. One cannot struggle for these ideals if at the same time one denies or underestimates the practical

¹ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 409.

steps towards their realization. On this basis the party is rallying the people, solving problems and leading the people along the road charted by Marx, Engels and Lenin. A direct connection between our loyalty to the teaching of Marx and our successes in socialist construction is obvious."

István Sarlós, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, said that ideologists and politicians from the enemy camp have long since been trying to silence the ideas of Marx, to refute and distort them, to detach them from the revolutionary movement and at times even to use them for their own aims. Ever since socialist countries came into being they have contended that the socialism of Marx is a stage that has passed, that it has been distorted and that the socialist system is afflicted with a crisis from which there is no escape. But the working-class movement exists; it has spread to all parts of the world and won the confidence of hundreds of millions of people. From the experience of our struggle for the transformation of society along socialist lines and for the building of socialism we draw the conclusion that the causes of our possible mistakes are rooted, not in Marxism-Leninism, but in deviations from it.

Kazimierz Barcikowski, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party said: "The events in Poland confirm the thesis that violation of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism and insufficient consideration for specific national features unavoidably lead to mistakes and difficulties. They were promptly made use of by internal and external enemies of socialism, who

in the first place attacked the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the party and the socialist economy—in other words, those spheres of social and political structures which occupy the leading place in the teaching of Karl Marx and which are to be regarded as a norm of the transitional period. The events in Poland also confirm the importance of Marx's thesis about the necessity of analyzing the contradictions of social life as a prerequisite for formulating correct assessments and drawing practical conclusions. The elimination of objective conditions for the emergence of antagonistic contradictions does not mean that all social contradictions are removed. Our experience proves that non-antagonistic contradictions should not be underestimated. The history of socialist construction, which also includes bitter experience, shows that successes are scored only when the party as the leading force of the working class bases itself on scientific foundations, when it is capable of appreciating the spiritual wealth of Marxism-Leninism, constantly supplementing it with the experience of other countries and workers' parties."

Vasil Bil'ak, Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, exposing the lie about a "crisis of socialism", said that "our achievements and successes could have been much more impressive and we could have advanced much further along the path chosen by us if we had not had to wage a constant struggle against the intrigues of reactionary imperialist forces. These intrigues aimed at weakening socialism—blackmail, threats, discrimination and even attempted counter-revolutionary coups—are not abating but, on the contrary, are being constantly intensified.

"Today socialism is the most dynamic force in the world. It does not develop without problems and contradictions and it is not free of mistakes and human errors. To think that it could be otherwise could mean to fall under the influence of imperialism, to deny the essence of life and objective dialectics. It is important to be able to overcome these difficulties and contradictions.

"Many of our difficulties," Bil'ak continued, "stem from the new tasks being accomplished by us, from the search for ways of further progress; new obstacles often arise along these paths which we cannot foresee. Considerable difficulties result from the activities of our class enemies. We have had to deal with so many acts of intervention, various embargoes, blockades and subversive acts. Our enemies are exerting great efforts to harm our cause and to prove that the working class cannot govern and lead the socialist state.

"The despicable methods imperialism resorts to in the struggle against us and the cynicism with which it wages this struggle are illustrated by the recent acts of terrorism by what is called 'UNITA' against Czechoslovak citizens of ours who were helping the Angolan people build a new life. Capitalist governments, which so eagerly lecture us on humanism, did not lift a finger, did not do anything to help to secure the release of our citizens. They did not utter a word in condemnation of this act of brute force. It is no secret that such acts of terror are conducted under their patronage and with their active help. . .

"It was absolutely necessary to overcome many subjectively oversimplified notions about the building up of socialism," Vasil Bil'ak stressed. "The illusion that socialist construction is free of problems was particularly dangerous. We also had to

pay dearly for the erroneous view that it suffices to take political power and all the rest would be very simple. Vain were the efforts of those who wanted to speed up development without considering the real preconditions and possibilities.

"Nevertheless, we can definitely say one thing: we have always approached the solutions of problems before us in the light of the vital interests of the working people; we have never tried to shift these problems onto the shoulders of the working people, as is done in the capitalist countries. Despite all our problems and difficulties we have achieved notable successes in the construction of socialism, successes of which we can be proud...

"Capitalist Czechoslovakia was regarded as an oasis of freedom and democracy. But what was the actual state of affairs? Class, social and national oppression, mass emigration, unemployment, which embraced ten per cent of the able-bodied population, the shooting of workers and peasants demanding jobs and bread, backwardness and the direct poverty reigning in whole regions—these were characteristic features of the old bourgeois republic.

"All this has become a thing of the past. The glaring class, social and national differences have disappeared. Today the working people have the guaranteed right to work, rest and leisure, to maintenance in case of disability and in old age, and to free education. They are living in conditions of social stability."

Franz Muhri, Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria, noted that the creative power, the great importance of the existence of real socialism for the international working-class and liberation movements and for the worldwide peace movement

manifest themselves both in economic progress, in the development of new forms of socialist democracy, and in a dynamic, active and consistent policy of peace. The aim of anti-communism and anti-socialism is to conceal these facts, to split the working class and progressive forces, to isolate them in the international arena, to keep them from the struggle for a socialist future for Austria.

Horst Schmitt, Chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, declared that the lies and slanders against life in the socialist countries are intended to convince the working people that socialism is not the alternative to crises-shaken capitalism. In this way the working people are to be diverted from active struggle for their class interests and to be prepared ideologically and politically for accepting the necessity and possibility of a nuclear war against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries.

The General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, William Kashtan, gave a rebuff not only to outspoken opponents of socialism, but also to those who criticized real socialism "from a position of Marxism". "As we celebrate this centenary the opponents of Marxism-Leninism try to denigrate the achievements of socialism in the Soviet Union. Some even claim that the attraction of existing socialism has petered out. All of this is purposeful, directed to distract the attention of the people from the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and its inability to cope with the problems facing the people.

"While it is understandable that the apologists of monopoly capitalism would undertake this smear campaign against existing real socialism, less understandable are the views of those claiming to be Marxists, who throw stones at existing

socialism and advance views that veer to a so-called non-Marxist socialism... They want to turn their backs on real socialism. But in doing so they commit a grave error."

A similar idea was expressed by René Leon Maugé Mosquera, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador. "The masses of the people see in Marxism-Leninism a firm guide to action," he said, "which is already opening up unexplored ways of building a new society, of conducting the struggle against big business and monopoly, for national independence and social emancipation."

"So no one can deny the vast importance of the omnipotent and true doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and the relevance of its basic tenets. This is contrary to the assertions of the enemies of socialism to the effect that Marxism-Leninism has lost its viability and relevance, and to those of 'sages' who oppose the ideas of the young Marx to the ideas of the mature Marx."

"We declare that, despite difficulties and shortcomings, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are being implemented in the Soviet Union and the other countries of real socialism," said Andreas Fantis, Deputy General Secretary of the Progressive Working People's Party of Cyprus. "We consider that by dint of historical and other important factors the Soviet Union is the vanguard of the world revolutionary movement, and consequently we resolutely condemn any manifestation of anti-Sovietism."

Criticism of the "critics" of real socialism was voiced at the conference by the representatives of other parties, among them Khalid Bagdash, Secretary General of the Communist Party of Syria; the representative of the Guatemalan Party of Labour,

and Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia.

The conference confirmed the high authority enjoyed by the countries of real socialism in the international communist and national liberation movements, the authority won by successes in socialist construction and by the Marxist-Leninist policy of ruling communist and workers' parties.

Marxism-Leninism—a Powerful Ideological and Political Weapon of the Revolutionary Working Class

The historical process of the liberation of mankind from exploitation, social and national oppression and wars is taking place as a result of immensely broad popular movements with the leading role being played by the working class, whose world-historic mission was first disclosed and substantiated by Marx. Many conference participants spoke about the revolutionary mission of the working class in present-day conditions, about its struggle against monopoly capital, about the ways of transition to socialism and other problems of the international working-class movement.

Marxism teaches that the proletariat is the social force which is called upon by history not only to destroy capitalist oppression and exploitation, but also to build a new society.

"Marx correctly concluded that if the class struggle is the axis, then the working class is the dynamo, the moving force, the pivotal power bloc which all movements and struggles of necessity must relate to," Gus Hall, General Secretary

of the Communist Party of the United States, said in this connection. "This is so because it is the only class moulded and steeled in struggle, because it is the direct victim of exploitation and oppression. And, therefore, it is, of necessity, the class which will lead all society in the revolutionary transition to freedom from exploitation and oppression. This is the foundation for the revolutionary, working-class essence of Marxism-Leninism. The greatest tribute to Marx is that we are not focusing our attention on past problems, on the Marx of one hundred years ago—but on the science he gave life to, applied to the problems of today. We are focusing on the direction history is moving, as Marx predicted it. The world revolutionary process, with the working class as the main dynamo, has become the main stream of history." Gus Hall also pointed out that "the theory and concept of the class struggle and the working-class component is as essential today as it was in Marx's time. Perhaps even more so as capitalism decays, the working class expands and the struggle grows ever sharper and more intense."

Many speakers discussed the revolutionary role of the working class in the struggle for the emancipation of mankind.

William Kashtan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, said: "Life has corroborated Marx's creative theories on the revolutionary role of the working class as the builder of a classless society free from exploitation, on the need for the working class to win political power in alliance with all working people and on socialization of the means of production as a basis for the socialist transformation of society."

"The teachings of Karl Marx indeed opened a new era—a new page—in the history of mankind, for the working people—the proletariat—to take up their destiny in their own hands because 'they have nothing to lose but their chains'," declared Moses Nnauye, Member of the Central Committee and the National Executive of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania.

In polemizing against those who deny the revolutionary role of the modern working class in the capitalist countries, Santiago Alvarez, representative of the Communist Party of Spain, declared: "Marxism is subjected to direct and indirect attacks in which its viability is denied and it is asserted that Marxism has become outdated as a result of changes that have taken place in the ranks of the working class, in its composition and structure since the time of Marx and Engels. These spurious arguments pursue one aim—to negate or at least disparage the new social class called upon to replace the bourgeoisie at the helm of power for building socialism.

"Obviously, with the present level of development of the productive forces, science and technology, scientists, specialists and the intelligentisia as a whole are already now becoming, and will become increasingly in the future, an important factor in any radical transformation of society. Nevertheless, the role of the working class as a social force will not decrease either in highly developed capitalist countries or in medium-developed ones, such as Spain. It is precisely the working class that is called upon to maintain the revolutionary process which is to lead to socialism. Its role in production, its numerical strength, its concentration, its own renewal and development give ground for believing in such a perspective.

The question is that the alliance of the working class with other advanced social strata, the movement of the working class together with social movements emerging by virtue of new phenomena in society are expanding the old worker-peasant alliance.

"The new alliance," Santiago Alvarez stressed, "is to be able to rally the social bloc of progress which in its interests and its perspective would counter the bloc of which the oligarchy is the centre and would open up new horizons for building a progressive, socialist society."

Kazimierz Barcikowski, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, stressed the idea that the theory of Karl Marx scientifically substantiated the programme of action in which the working class is recognized as the force capable of destroying capitalism. It also followed from this programme that the proletariat is to accomplish this task in accordance with the laws of social development, with the objective trend of development of the forms of social life in the direction of socialism.

Edward Mungoni Liso, Member of the Central Committee of the United National Independence Party of Zambia, pointed to the dialectical interconnection between the struggle of the working class against capitalism and capitalism's attendant evils of neocolonialism, racism, Zionism and apartheid, the struggle of the working class to become the master of its own destiny, and the struggle of the peasants and progressive intellectuals.

Many conference participants spoke about the struggle of the working class for socialism, for the building of a socialist society, this humane and just system based on genuine government by the

people and on democracy, a society where all the levers of power are in the hands of the working people.

Giocondo Dias, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party, noted that at present the theoretical and tactical orientation of the Brazilian Communists is on struggle for socialism. The formation of a bloc of democratic and national forces, with the working class playing the leading role, and its victorious assertion in Brazilian life is an important condition for the transition from capitalism to socialism through struggle for anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and anti-latifundist transformations, for the conquest of political power, for democracy, for independent and progressive development of the national economy, for the accomplishment of a cultural revolution and the pursuit of an anti-imperialist foreign policy, a policy of peace and non-alignment.

Horst Schmitt, Chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, said: "We set ourselves the task of winning over the masses, in the first place in order to give a rebuff to the influence of big business on the state, economy and society, to accomplish a democratic turn which will ultimately open the way to the struggle for socialism."

Agreeing that the crisis processes and contradictions of capitalism sharpen the need for socialist solutions, Aldo Tortorella, Member of the Directorate of the Italian Communist Party, argued that not only societies similar to the "Soviet model" can arise on the basis of Marx's doctrine. The theme of the "Soviet model" was touched upon in some other speeches. For instance, William Kashtan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, said: "While there is no

single model for all countries in working to achieve socialism, there are basic principles that are universal in their scope in achieving, defending and building socialism. These remain as valid as ever... Only the invincible theories of Marxism-Leninism, creatively developed, are the guarantees for victory in one's own country." William Kashtan stressed that "the 165th anniversary of Marx's birth and centenary of his passing away have given us clear evidence of the power of Marxism in shaping and changing the world. These 100 years have reinforced the truth of the role of the working class as the historical grave-digger of capitalism."

Some conference participants, primarily those from among the representatives of social democratic and socialist parties, expressed doubt as regards the readiness of the modern working class to carry out revolutionary transformations. For instance, Giuseppe Tamburrano, Member of the Directorate of the Italian Socialist Party, declared: "The West European working class, once Marxist, is less Marxist today. It is reformist. Of course, it remains to be proved that Marxism and reformism are opposites."

Many speakers cited examples of the militancy and revolutionary spirit of the working class. Jorge Shafic Handal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Salvadoran Communist Party, noted that if in some countries the ideas of Marxism-Leninism have lost weight in the working-class movement and this movement has become reformist, the blame for this rests in the first place with the working-class party which at a definite moment ceased to fulfil its everyday task of disseminating the ideas of scientific socialism among the workers and all working people, thus losing, at

least temporarily, the ideological battle against the bourgeoisie.

Different viewpoints were expressed on the question of ways of transition to socialism now being debated in the working-class movement, a question which is topical theoretically and practically. For instance, Noboru Jagi, Member of the Central Executive Committee and Head of the International Bureau of the Central Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Japan, said that naturally one of the most important questions which the party had to answer was the question of how in the new circumstances to formulate the way of Japan's transition to socialism. At a time of the collapse of the military and the bureaucracy, of great instructive value were the propositions, put forward by Marx in the Hague in 1872 and by Engels in *A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891*, on the possibility of a peaceful transition of power into the hands of the working class. The theory of a peaceful revolution has also been reflected in programme documents of the Communist Party of Japan. This theory, in accordance with which state power can be won through a parliament elected on the basis of direct suffrage by relying on the organized forces of the working people, without resort to violence, is regarded by the party as its principal theoretical proposition.

Jiannis Papadatos, representative of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement, declared that an experiment of transition to socialism through democratic, pluralist processes, proceeding with the approval and participation of the people, is under way in Greece.

In the opinion of Sven Ove Hansson of the Social Democratic Labour Party of Sweden, the way to socialism lies primarily through political democracy, and the question of violence or renunciation of

violence is a question of how to implement and preserve this democracy. "There is no proof," he said, "that Marx wanted to socialize the means of production through rapid violent revolution."

In the opinion of Nikola Stojanović, Secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the question of the ways to socialism is more topical and important than ever before in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the world. A variety of ways leading to socialism is a regular feature of the socialist movement and it is right to expect that the theory and practice of socialist transformation will in the future as well be enriched with new achievements and contributions. Proceeding from this law-governed feature, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia will continue to give moral and political support to every party and every movement in their right to their own path in realizing their social ideals in accordance with the conditions prevailing in each country.

Ton van Hoek, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Netherlands, considers that the socialism for which Dutch Communists are striving can only be the result of the co-operation of different political forces, each of which will make its own contribution to the common cause. In the course of this co-operation these forces will work jointly to strengthen and extend parliamentary democracy. The struggle against economic crisis should be combined with the population winning a greater right to participate in decision-making on economic questions, including in enterprises, as well as on a local and regional scale. Contained in this idea, Ton van Hoek believes, is the perspective of socialism, under which not only the distribution of products and the prin-

ciples of consumption will change, but also the right to participate in decision-making in various spheres of social life will be realized. Such an extension of this right is also one of the forms which makes it possible to strengthen parliamentary democracy and to defend it already now against subversion on the part of big banks and concerns.

A detailed exposition of possible ways of transition to socialism in his country was made by Noboru Wakabayashi, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, who said that the Communist Party of Japan considers it its task to form a democratic coalition government, which will ensure the neutrality of the country and peace, establish economic and political democracy and create an independent and democratic Japan in the course of an anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly democratic revolution, and a socialist Japan will be built after a socialist revolution. The Communist Party of Japan considers that in socialist Japan conditions will exist in which different political parties will be able to function because of the diversity of problems and opinions, reflecting complex political, economic and ideological relations in society. In such conditions even the further existence of political parties striving for the restoration of capitalism, and opposition parties, will be permitted.

A different view on ways of effecting the transition to socialism was expressed by Jorge Shafic Handal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Salvadoran Communist Party. He considers that the conquest of power by the proletariat with the aim of destroying the capitalist system cannot be ensured by electoral calculations and voting. Without, of course, minimizing the importance of the participation of the masses of the people in

elections for the cause of the revolution, it is necessary to return to Marx in order to emphasize that the main role in the development of the revolutionary process and its victorious consummation belongs to revolutionary force, the "midwife of history". Handal stressed: "We are speaking about revolutionary force in its broadest and essential meaning, without reducing this concept to armed struggle, which is one of its forms. The rare and valuable possibility of the victory of the peaceful road can be realized only within the framework of a specific concurrence of circumstances, as a result of the development and spread of revolutionary force at national and international levels. This truth of Marx about the indispensable role of revolutionary force has been confirmed a thousand times over in both action and failure to act."

Renunciation, open or tacit, of revolutionary force, of the struggle for power, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in short, renunciation of revolution breeds eclecticism, opportunism and conformism. "All these," said Handal, "are attributes of degradation and signify confirmation of a departure from Marxism-Leninism. It is no accident that sooner or later the most consistent adherents of this scheme abandon the lofty name of Marxist-Leninists."

Asunción Caballero Méndez, Member of the Political Commission and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Peruvian Communist Party, considers that Marx's theses on the revolutionary role of the proletariat remains fully valid and correct, as it is confirmed by the experience of revolutionary movements.

"It is sometimes said that in the Europe of today there is no need for any new state power of the working people under the leadership of the working

class," stressed Rene Urbany, Chairman of the Communist Party of Luxemburg. "What is necessary is to place workers in leading positions within the framework of the existing capitalist state. In our opinion, this is a variant of Eduard Bernstein's concept, refuted by history, of non-revolutionary development into socialism.

"The experience of the working-class movement in Luxemburg, a small but industrially developed country, with a working class steeled in battle, bears out Marx's and Lenin's famous propositions that the working class cannot simply take over the state machine of monopoly capital. On the contrary, the popular forces led by the working class, with due account of progressive national traditions, must create a new, democratic, anti-monopoly state power which will open the way to socialism. Incidentally, as history teaches us, this experience is valid not only for Western Europe, but for all capitalist countries."

In the opinion of Franz Muhri, Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria, Austrian experience also proves that it is impossible to solve the cardinal problems of society and to renovate democracy without changing property and power relations. It is therefore stated in the Programme of the Communist Party of Austria: "Never before has it been possible to achieve socialism by means of gradual even evolution, by means of gradual transformation. Development is always uneven and in decisive moments even spasmodic. Sooner or later, irrespective of all possible intermediate stages, the task inevitably arises of putting an end to the old state machinery of oppression and manipulation in order to open the way to a new system."

Austrian experience confirms the idea of Marx, Engels and Lenin that without rebuffing opportunist

ism in the working-class movement, without a strong revolutionary party the working class will be unable to carry out its historic mission as the gravedigger of capitalism and the builder of a new, socialist society.

This conclusion was backed by Jørgen Jensen, Chairman of the Danish Communist Party, who said that Marx's teaching that the working class will emancipate itself only when it takes power into its own hands and frees society from private capitalist property relations decisively influenced the working-class movement and remained true to the present day.

In the opinion of Kenneth Kvist, Member of the Executive of the Board of the Left Party—Communists of Sweden, today it is not enough to safeguard social gains against the forces of the Right. Marx in his day proved the need to smash the capitalist state and build a new, socialist state, which in the long run will wither away. In such a country as Sweden this means today not only defence of the social rights of working people, but also a new structural development of the state, democratization, debureaucratization and the preparation of a qualitative changing of the structure and character of the entire state. Proceeding from Marx's ideas, Marxists should show that, contrary to the false concept of freedom propagated by Right-wing forces, socialist transformations can create a real basis for the development of the individual.

Many speakers expressed the idea that today the doctrine of Marx is a powerful weapon of the world working class. George Jackson, National Secretary of the New Zealand Socialist Unity Party, declared that for the working class Marx's name and his work are "becoming the material force as it grips the minds of masses of people, whether it be in

guiding them in the building of a new, socialist society which is becoming a beacon for all people, or among those millions of people made redundant and inhumanly cast aside like consumerism's last season's fashion... The materialist approach, the nature of change, the linking of theory and practice and the building of mass movement, arms the working class theoretically and builds that ever expanding unity of which Marx spoke."

Malcolm Parris, Executive Secretary of the People's National Congress of Guyana, stressed that Marx's teaching is the ideology of the working class, the theoretical expression of its fundamental interests. It is the science of the revolutionary transformation of the world. Today, it can be seen that the influence of Marx's teaching on the working masses has been growing steadily in the process of the revolutionary class struggle in Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean.

"Marx, who devoted a large part of his life to the study of capitalism and the organization of the working class, stressed the international importance of the working-class movement. He drew the attention of workers to the need to co-ordinate the struggles of the working class in different countries," noted Thorbjörn Jagland, Secretary of the Board of the Norwegian Workers' Party.

"The analysis Marx and Engels made of the struggles of the working class and trade unions in Britain," said Gordon McLennan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, "illustrated both the strengths and weaknesses of the labour movement at that time, yet many of their comments have a bearing on immediate questions facing the British people and its working-class movement... The working class in the capitalist countries is infinitely stronger. New democratic movements, such as

the peace movement and the women's movement, have also developed. Marxism has a worldwide influence and is the theoretical and organizational basis of communist and workers' parties, independent and equal in a world movement making history on an international scale."

"We have many advantages in the world today," said Alan Miller, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Australia. "We have the legacy of Marx himself. We have a world socialist system, the greatest achievement of the world's working class. We have a powerful international movement of communist and workers' parties... Our party seeks to develop united working-class action with those who differ from us ideologically but are willing to struggle for the betterment of the workers. At the same time we do not relinquish our responsibility to present our working-class ideological position, to put forward the profound truths of Marxism-Leninism."

"The way in which the working-class movement in San Marino and especially we Communists use the revolutionary doctrine of Marx and embody it in concrete steps is proof of the invariable effectiveness of Marxism," says the message of greetings sent to the Berlin conference by the Communist Party of San Marino.

"At present there are more than 90 Marxist-Leninist parties in the world," said Zaki Kheiri, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party. "They constitute a single army which plays the principal role in human progress and is today carrying out more complex and more serious tasks than 136 years ago, when our movement came into being. At the same time we have begun to meet much more rarely to co-ordinate our struggles and accomplish com-

mon tasks, in the first place those connected with the problem of preserving peace among nations and preventing a thermonuclear war, which would destroy everything in the full meaning of the word.

"I already touched upon this question at the international conference which was held also here, in Berlin, two and a half years ago. During this time the Socialist International has met twice. And Marxist revolutionary parties held their last international meeting 14 years ago, in 1969. Is not this regrettable? While the Socialist International convenes its meetings at least once in two years we are told: 'Do not convene an international conference of Communists so as not to provide a pretext for talk about a resumption of the activities of the Comintern.' There are people who call for absolute democracy. But they deny the right of the absolute majority of the Communists of the world to convene their international conferences to discuss the most pressing problems facing mankind."

It was noted by many at the conference that the world working-class movement is gathering strength. The activity and authority of communist parties are growing. The aims and ideals of these parties, being the ideals and aims of the working class, in the long run accord with the objective requirements of social progress. The international working-class movement is ever more dynamic, militantly manifesting itself in the common stream of the revolutionary struggle.

Marxism-Leninism and the National Liberation Movement

Exposure of the colonial policy of the capitalist powers, a profound analysis of the problems of the national liberation movement, questions of the organization of campaigns by revolutionary proletarians in their support, and the prospects of the liberation struggle of the peoples occupy an important place in the creative legacy of Marx, Engels and Lenin, in their practical revolutionary activity. The vast historical experience accumulated by mankind in past decades testifies to the correctness of their assessments and conclusions regarding national liberation movements. Marxism-Leninism has had a tremendous impact on the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The very fact of the participation in the conference of representatives of the finest, front-rank forces from the zone of the national liberation struggle is vivid confirmation of this.

The idea of the abiding relevance of the Marxist-Leninist heritage, of its great revolutionizing influence on the national liberation movement was expressed by many conference participants.

Jesús Montané Oropesa, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, noted that by his outstanding theoretical, scientific and revolutionary achievements Marx showed the road along which the colonial and dependent peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America can attain a leading place in historical development. He never remained aloof from events in those countries. Proof of this is the place they occupy in his works and those of his fellow-fighter Frederick Engels—it is the problems of Ireland, Afghanistan, Algeria, Iran, Burma and especially India and China.

Enrique Bernales, General Secretary of the Socialist Revolutionary Party of Peru, stressed that the ideas of national liberation revolutions, of the struggle for the complete sovereignty of the peoples stem from the treasury of Marx's creative work and are inspired by the example of his consistent revolutionary activity. They were supplemented by Lenin's theoretical and practical contributions and together with them constitute a single whole.

"The participation of a government delegation from Ghana in this conference is an expression of Ghana's appreciation of the impact of Marxist-Leninist teachings on the liberation struggles on the African continent and other parts of the world," said **Ato Austin**, representative of the Provisional National Defence Council of Ghana.

"The national liberation movement," pointed out **André Constant**, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Martinique Communist Party, "is guided by Marx's idea that colonialism—the offspring and at the same time the breadwinner of capitalism—is the most oppressive form of the exploitation of man by man which

the peoples of the colonies and progressive forces in the imperialist countries are to remove."

"In Africa, Asia and Latin America nations and public movements are relying in their struggles on the teaching of Marx," noted **Giuseppe Tamburra-**
no, Member of the Directorate of the Italian Socialist Party.

The profound influence of the ideas of Marx on the peoples of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America was also referred to by **Edward Mun-**
goni Liso, Member of the Central Committee of the United National Independence Party of Zambia.

"Marx's teachings on the national and colonial question also find vivid reflection in today's national liberation movement, which has become a powerful component of the world revolutionary process of our time," stressed **K. P. Silva**, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka. "Marx gave basic directions to this movement when, on the one hand, he pointed out to the peoples of the metropolitan countries that 'Any nation that oppresses another forges its own chains' and when, on the other hand, he showed the democratic forces in the colonial and dependent countries that winning national independence should be the first aim of their struggles."

"The ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin have gained positions even in the remotest areas of the world," said the representative of the Communist Party of Lesotho.

Ali Khavary, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Party of Iran, spoke about how the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin help one to understand the essence of events in Iran.

"...And today the patriotic and revolutionary democrats of our country, led by SWAPO, are show-

ing considerable interest in Marxist science," said David Meroro, National Chairman of the South West Africa People's Organization. "They are searching for theoretical and practical guidance regarding the problem of national liberation revolutions in our epoch, of their socio-economic, political and ideological features, and their chief motive forces."

And here is what the representative of the National Liberation Front of Bahrain said about the importance of Marxism. "From the point of view of the spread of Marxist ideas, the countries of the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula are no exception. The great ideas of Marxism have broken through into this region, which the British colonialists liked to call a 'British lake'... These ideas reached us despite the blockade established by the colonialists, despite the extremely difficult and complex conditions characterized by the extreme backwardness and the difference in the levels of development of our countries, despite terror and repression."

In his time Marx put forward the supposition that national movements can become powerful allies of the revolutionary proletariat. Subsequently this brilliant idea was profoundly developed and substantiated by Lenin.

"One of the main conclusions in Lenin's doctrine," said Mikhail Zimyanin, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "is that concerning the national liberation struggle of the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies as a powerful stream of the world revolutionary movement."

Today the alliance of world socialism, the working class of the developed capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement, their solidarity actions against imperialism have become a living reality, a mighty revolutionizing force of our time.

The same theme was discussed at length by other conference participants. "In our days," said Suleiman an-Nadjab, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Palestinian Communist Party, "the national liberation movement has become a powerful worldwide force playing an important role in the struggle against neo-colonialism and racism, for the preservation of world peace. It has become one of the main detachments of the world revolutionary process. This movement has expanded and deepened within the framework of the revolutionary transformations which have taken place in keeping with the doctrine of Marx and Engels and have changed the face of the world..."

Speakers stressed the vast importance of this alliance for the triumph of national liberation revolutions, for the further development and deepening of the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

"In their difficult struggle," noted Girigissou Gado, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Revolution Party of Benin, "our people have always relied and continue to rely on the effective solidarity and active support of all friendly countries, in particular, the socialist countries headed by the USSR."

"The fact that in present conditions, when the colonial system of imperialism has been almost completely eliminated, the young states and the national liberation movements are fighting and winning," said Bonata Dieng, Head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party of Guinea, "has become possible only thanks to the support and all-round assistance rendered to them by the countries of the socialist community, worthy successors of the glorious fighting

traditions of the international proletariat organized and ideologically armed by Karl Marx."

"To this day," stressed Alfred Nzo, General Secretary of the African National Congress of South Africa, "that alliance between the forces of socialist revolution and national emancipation about which Marx wrote... remains a powerful motive force in the struggle against imperialist domination. During the present century, and especially after the Second World War, it dealt a death blow to the system of colonialism."

Noting that the Angolan revolution owed its successes to the solidarity and invaluable support of the socialist countries and above all the Soviet Union, Roberto de Almeida, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the MPLA—Party of Labour of Angola, pointed out that this internationalist policy will continue to be the most important condition for the successes of the Angolan people.

The importance of the assistance and support of the peoples of the fraternal countries—Vietnam, Laos, the Soviet Union and others—was referred to by Chea Sim, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, Chairman of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Chairman of the Council of the Kampuchean United Front for National Construction and Defence.

Khalid Bagdash, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Syria, said: "It is quite understandable that the alliance of the national liberation movement with the socialist community and the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries is an objective and natural alliance." Rejecting the attempts of imperialism to undermine this alliance with the help of the bogey

of a "Soviet military threat", Khalid Bagdash stressed: "The Arab masses of the people, ever broader strata of revolutionary democrats increasingly feel the firm connection between their liberation struggle and the principled and consistent stand of the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace, against the expansionist, aggressive schemes of US imperialism directed against the interests of the peoples, their freedom and independence. . . On behalf of the whole Syrian people we express deep-felt thankfulness and gratitude to the great Soviet Union, which has been and is rendering our people effective assistance in their struggle against aggression."

"The principles of equality and friendship of the peoples formulated by Lenin after the victory of the October Revolution," noted Abdel Aziz al-Otte, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Jordan, "became the basis of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and specifically its policy towards the Arab peoples. This approach had a direct bearing on the Arab national liberation movement, which saw the mainstay of its struggle to be the state of workers and peasants." The speaker recalled that in December 1920 the National Committee of Arab Unity had issued an appeal stressing the exceptional importance of the alliance of the Arab national liberation movement and the Bolsheviks. This document concluded with the words: 'Long live Lenin, long live his comrades-in-arms, long live Soviet power!'

"We in the Arab world," said Abdel Aziz al-Otte, "clearly see how consistently the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are implementing the ideas and principles of Marx, Engels and Lenin. This is manifested in all-out support for the Arab peoples subjected to attacks by imperialism and Zio-

nism, in all-round assistance to them in defence of their national independence and the development of their economies, in assistance and support to the Palestinian people fighting for the right to return to their homeland and to live there in peace as other peoples do. . ."

"The socialist community has become a powerful support and ally of the peoples fighting in all parts of the world for national liberation," said Abdulla al-Ahmar, Assistant Secretary General of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party of Syria. "The peoples cannot continue their liberation struggle and win victories without close co-operation with the other contingents of the world revolutionary movement and especially with the states of the socialist community, of which the Soviet Union is the vanguard."

The same idea was stressed in the speech of Abu Bakr Ba Dib, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party. "It can be confidently said," he noted, "that there is no country in the world now free from colonialist oppression which does not receive support from the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, from the international working-class movement. This constitutes one of the main factors of the staunchness of the national liberation movement and its ability to withstand the attacks of imperialism."

The representative of the Communist Party of Pakistan said that the peoples of South Asia, and especially the South Asian subcontinent, see in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries their true friends. The economic assistance rendered by the socialist countries and especially by the Soviet Union has considerably contributed to social and economic progress in these countries. The Soviet Union's peace proposals with respect to the Indian

Ocean and the Persian Gulf have met with a positive response on the part of broad masses of the people.

"The developing and socialist countries have one common enemy—imperialism," said Jorgé Cruikshank Garcia, General Secretary of the National Leadership of the Socialist People's Party of Mexico. "That is why we give a rebuff to the divisive and separatist attempts to counterpose the non-aligned movement to the socialist community, and especially to the Soviet Union."

For their part, representatives of socialist countries stressed the invariability of the principled course of their parties and governments for promoting co-operation with the recently liberated countries, for strengthening the alliance of world socialism with the national liberation movement.

"Co-operation with newly-free countries, in the first place, with those which have launched constructive transformations, is our common duty, including the duty of those who do not shoulder responsibility for the historical tragedy of underdevelopment," said Jesús Montané Oropesa, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. "In dealing with urgent problems, we demonstrate the internationalist principles by which we are guided, and show that we are not indifferent towards the future of these countries. Thereby we demonstrate that above all our peoples and governments have something in common—responsibility for the future of mankind. We Communists—and Cuba has only modest experience in this respect—should unite still more closely with the developing countries in the struggle for peace, national liberation and social progress. In doing so we should take into account the interests of

these countries and the complex problems facing them, and see the importance of their struggle for mankind as a whole."

Speaking about the main aspects of the interaction of world socialism, the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement, conference participants laid special emphasis on the importance of joint efforts in the struggle for strengthening peace and the security of the peoples, for thwarting the policy of imperialist aggression. They expressed deep concern for the destinies of peace and civilization.

Speakers stressed that the increased aggressiveness of imperialism is turned also against the independence and freedom of the peoples of the former colonies and semi-colonies. "The Reagan Administration," said K. P. Silva, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, "has brought the danger of nuclear war to their (the recently independent countries.—Ed.) very doorsteps. The political independence that they won with great difficulty and sacrifice is daily threatened and eroded by imperialism, which continues to regard them as mere sources of raw materials and cheap labour and spheres of 'vital interest'..."

Citing specific examples, speakers exposed the imperialist policy of the West, this "inherent barbarism of bourgeois civilization"¹ with respect to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, about which Marx spoke in his time. US policy in the Middle East was sharply condemned by Khalid Bagdash, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Syria; Mohammed

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 12, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1979, p. 221.

**Harmel, First Secretary of the Tunisian Communist Party; Abou Hatem, representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization; Abu Bakr Ba Dib, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Communist Party; Suleiman an-Nadjab, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Palestinian Communist Party; Michel Kamel, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Egyptian Communist Party; and Ri-
faat Said, Member of the Leadership of the National Progressive Unionist Party of Egypt (Left Wing). Athos Fava, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Argentina, called imperialism the principal and common enemy of Latin America and the Caribbean, a permanent factor of economic, political and military destabilization.**

The union between the racists, bossing it over in the South of Africa, and US imperialism was sharply criticized in the speeches of Alfred Nzo, General Secretary of the African National Congress of South Africa, and David Meroro, National Chairman of the South West Africa People's Organization of Namibia.

At the same time conference participants stressed the greatly increased strength of the national liberation movement, its determination to resist the pressure of the aggressive circles of imperialism.

"After winning their independence, 100 states have joined the movement of non-aligned states," said Nguyen Duc Tam, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam. "Armed with traditions of struggle against aggressive imperialism, against aggression and international reaction, the non-aligned movement is acquiring an ever more powerful voice; it has made a great contribution of the so-

lution of important problems of our time—for instance, to the struggle for the establishment of a new International Economic Order, for the consolidation of national independence and in defence of world peace.”

“At the international level,” stressed Anthony Vassalo, General Secretary of the Maltese Communist Party, “we must single out the non-aligned movement as being an immense reservoir of anti-imperialist forces dedicated to forging a better and peaceful future for mankind.”

Nikola Stojanović, Secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, called the non-aligned countries a weighty factor in the progressive development of the modern world.

Speakers expressed internationalist solidarity with the peoples fighting against imperialism, colonialism, racism and Zionism.

“We are on the side of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Afghanistan, Korea, Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, the peoples of the South of Africa and Namibia,” declared Abdulla al-Ahmar, Assistant General Secretary of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party of Syria. “We are on the side of those who have raised the banner of struggle for socialism and peace in Europe and the United States too, those who are openly struggling against war, against the whipping up of the arms race, for universal peace and security.”

“Being here on the occasion of the centenary of the death of Marx, the pioneer of the national emancipation of mankind, we hail the heroism of the peoples fighting against imperialism and colonialism,” said Kamel Bouchema, Member of the Central Committee of the Algerian National Liberation Front.

The efforts of the socialist countries aimed at preserving peace and curbing the aggressive encroachments of imperialism were highly appraised by representatives of newly-free countries. Among them were Mohammed Harmel, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Tunisian Communist Party; Suleiman an-Nadjab, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Palestinian Communist Party, and Roberto de Almeida, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA—Party of Labour of Angola.

Conference participants pointed to the realization in our epoch of Marx's brilliant prediction that after winning political power the peoples of newly-liberated countries would be able, with the support of the states of victorious socialism, to choose the path of their social and economic development by-passing the capitalist formation fully or partly. This idea, which was comprehensively elaborated later in Lenin's concept of non-capitalist development, has now been borne out by vast historical experience. The non-capitalist path and a socialist orientation have become a reality of our time. There is a steady increase in the number of countries which have opted for the path of socialist development.

Many speakers stressed the viability and fruitfulness of Marxist-Leninist ideas about the non-capitalist development of newly-liberated countries and their socialist orientation.

Nguyễn Duc Tam, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, said that history has proved that in the present international conditions, after the attainment of independence, under the correct leadership of genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and holding high the banner of national independence

and socialism, developing countries pass through different transitional stages and can embark upon socialist development, by-passing the capitalist path.

The address of the **Philippine Communist Party**, said: "We are witness to the broadening of a non-capitalist or socialist orientation among the newly-independent countries—a phenomenon which testifies to the predictive insight of Marx, together with Engels, that in view of the crisis of world capitalism it is possible to by-pass capitalist formation. The emergence of the world socialist system has provided concrete historical conditions for non-capitalist development, showing that the integral link between socialism and national liberation in this respect is not merely an abstract prospect but an actual revolutionary phenomenon."

"In order to overcome such burning problems as economic backwardness, poverty and illiteracy which they have inherited, developing countries are increasingly consulting Marxism for guidance and answers," said **Cheddi Jagan**, General Secretary of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana. "Many, in spite of difficulties and imperialism's obstructionist policies, are set on the path of socialist orientation. They are learning from the rich multi-faceted experiences of existing socialism and benefiting substantially from selfless, many-sided assistance from the socialist world."

Representatives of ruling revolutionary democratic parties, drawing on examples from their countries, showed vividly how the socialist orientation is being realized in practice. They stressed both the general laws of the development of their countries and the specific features resulting from the peculiarities of these countries.

This question was dealt with in detail by **Abu Bakr Ba Dib**, Member of the Political Bureau and

Secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party. "The theory of the national-democratic revolution with a socialist perspective," he said, "is closely connected with the main principled propositions of the theory of scientific socialism, revealing the laws of social development. In the specific conditions of the revolutionary process taking place in democratic Yemen, concrete aspects of the main features of the building of a new society are coming into focus, such as the establishment of the power of the working class in alliance with other working people; profound social and economic transformations aimed at speeding up economic development and raising the standard of living of the working people; the growing weight of the public sector in the national economy; changes in the social structure; the creation of a new political system in the form of democratic institutions; a tireless struggle for heightening the leading role of the party; radical changes in the ideological and cultural spheres; the pursuit of a progressive foreign policy based on the principle of socialist internationalism.

"The revolutionary forces in our country," Abu Bakr Ba Dib continued, "realized in good time the need to work for unity on correct foundations, advancing in the direction of building a vanguard party of a new type guided by the theory of scientific socialism and spearheading the process of revolutionary transformations in society. The convocation in October 1978 of the 1st Congress of the Yemeni Socialist Party became a major victory of not only the Yemeni, but also the entire Arab revolutionary movement. Since then the organizational structure of the party and its ideological and political unity have been strengthened, the level of social awareness of its members has risen to a new stage, the leading role of the party in the national

economy and in the whole life of the country has increased and its ties with the world revolutionary movement have become stronger.

"Recent years have seen an extension of the social basis of the party. With the entry into its ranks of thousands of workers, peasants and intellectuals its qualitative composition has improved, the positions of the party among the working people have been consolidated, organizational methods of work have been further developed and the democratic traditions in internal life, resting on the Marxist-Leninist theory of party building, have grown stronger."

A detailed account of social and economic transformations in Angola was made by Roberto de Almeida, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA—Party of Labour of Angola.

"Despite Angola's grievous legacy of colonialism and the undeclared war imposed upon it by the South African colonial-racist regime," he said, "our country firmly embarked on the path of accomplishing tasks of the people's democratic revolution and it has already scored some successes in building an independent economy, moulding the new consciousness of the masses and democratizing the country's social and political life. For instance, a public sector has been formed in the national economy; important steps have been taken in the collectivization of agriculture; education and medical assistance have become free; thanks to the nationwide anti-illiteracy campaign more than 800,000 Angolans can already read and write; tribal, parochial and racial survivals are receding under the impact of the strengthening of the patriotic and revolutionary self-awareness of the people; representative bodies of people's power and sectoral trade unions have

been formed on a countrywide scale and in the provinces.

"Our party, the MPLA—Party of Labour, is the organizing factor in all these revolutionary transformations. Guided by Marxist-Leninist doctrine, augmenting its ranks primarily with workers, our party is the nucleus of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which under the leadership of the unforgettable Comrade Agostinho Neto headed the struggle of the Angolan people for independence and the creation of the prerequisites for a people's democratic revolution, having as its aim the building of socialism. The extension of its ranks, which has been started this year, its cleansing of harmful elements, the imparting of a still more mass-scale, organized and scientific character to the ideological education of its members and the implementation of important programmes in the sphere of the training of cadres—all this has the aim of making the work among the masses even more active and effective, of strengthening the leading role of the party and deepening the gains of the revolution."

The Angolan representative also said that the revolutionary process in Angola still has certain weaknesses and that much remains to be done to complete the people's democratic revolution, above all, in the spheres of production, control over private trade, assistance to peasant farms, the cultural revolution and guidance of social and economic processes. This is well understood by the MPLA—Party of Labour and the Angolan people.

Speaking about the main conditions for successful transition to the construction of socialism, conference participants stressed the importance of mastering the teaching of Marx and Lenin.

"Our party has followed a correct path implementing the Marxist-Leninist doctrine," said Phoumi Vongvichit, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. "The past period has shown that the mastering of Marxism-Leninism is indispensable to our people, because it helps us to avoid mistakes and to overcome all obstacles, and to advance with confident strides in the direction of socialism. Only scientific socialism will help our people to achieve peace, wellbeing and a thousand times greater freedom than under capitalism."

A different picture was drawn by those who spoke about newly-free countries taking the capitalist road. "To the extent to which capitalist production relations are established in these countries," said Michel Kamel, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Egyptian Communist Party, "it becomes ever more obvious that this mode of production and the political forces connected with it lack a historical perspective. These countries suffer one failure after another in their attempts to solve any of the principal social problems. Their dependence on imperialism grows and the gulf between poor and rich widens."

The representative of the Egyptian Communist Party illustrated his words with the example of the Arab Republic of Egypt and asked what had the policy of "open doors", of collaboration with imperialism, capitulation to Zionism and the undermining of relations with the socialist countries given the Egyptian people.

"Irrespective of their authors," Michel Kamel continued, "all reports on the state of the Egyptian economy published in the late 1970s testify to a

chronic deficit of the balance of trade, a tremendous increase in the external debt (more than 18,000 million dollars), the growth of the role of foreign banks and foreign capital, which are plundering Egypt, and the heightening of the influence economic organizations connected with imperialism are having on the economic life of the country.

"Social contrasts have sharply increased. An insignificant minority is concentrating in its hands an ever greater part of the national income. Even the imperialist circles, which pushed Egypt onto its present road, are compelled to admit that in our country the rich are becoming ever richer and the poor ever poorer. Every day millions of Egyptian working people learn from their own experience what capitalism really is."

On the whole, the speeches of conference participants representing the developing world painted an impressive picture of revolutionary transformations taking place in the national liberation zone.

"We are convinced that the developing countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean have a vast revolutionary potential," said Jesús Montané Oropesa, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the **Communist Party of Cuba**. "In the years ahead, in conditions of the progress of socialism and the upsurge of the struggle of the working class, these countries can become the arena of new battles for national liberation and progress. These battles will inevitably merge in a stream the only strategic orientation of which can be the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist and socialist direction. Such is the logic of history."

For Peace, Against the Arms Race and the War Danger

Millions of people associate their striving to live in peace and to ensure mankind's peaceful future with the name of Marx. Great attention was paid at the conference to the problems of war and peace, to the class content of these problems in the present epoch, exposure of the imperialist policy of preparations for a new world war, and the necessity for all the forces of the world revolutionary movement to give a rebuff to the plans of imperialism. Many speakers stressed the special importance of further intensifying the democratic movement for the preservation of peace on our planet.

It was convincingly shown at the conference that the teaching of Karl Marx is the key to the understanding of complex social, political and economic processes. It makes it possible to find one's bearings in the explosive international situation, to determine the correct directions in the struggle for peace and for the prevention of a world thermo-nuclear war.

"In the year of Marx, in the face of a dangerous international situation it is important to grasp deeply the essence of Marx's utterances on problems of peace," noted Hans Kleven, Chairman of the Com-

munist Party of Norway. "Marx laid bare the indissoluble connection between capitalism and war, between socialism and peace, between profit and armament, between the interests of the working class, détente and disarmament. To him the struggle for peace was an inseparable component of the struggle of the working class for social progress and socialism.

"Marx showed the class essence of the foreign policy of war and the arms race," Hans Kleven continued. "This proposition is more topical today than ever before. In the drive for profit, the same class forces engage in an arms race and strive for military superiority. The new feature is that an atomic war can destroy mankind and wreak untold devastation. The destructive force of war is no longer limited today. On the contrary, it is unlimited. We must prevent an atomic holocaust. In general, it is the most important task at present."

The possibility of an Apocalypse of wholesale destruction was pointed out by **Francette Lazard**, Member of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party. She also noted the acuteness of the contradictions of social development brought out by Marx's materialist and dialectical approach.

"To all who demand elimination of nuclear weapons and general disarmament the ideas of the great humanist Marx serve as an inexhaustible source of inspiration," said **Noboru Jagi**, Member of the Central Executive Committee and Head of the International Bureau of the Central Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Japan.

Marx's great service is that he laid bare the militarist nature of capitalism and exposed the aggressive character of its foreign policy.

"Karl Marx was the first to demonstrate that the social roots of war lie in the system of exploita-

tion," said K. P. Silva, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka.

"In his day Karl Marx laid bare the essence of capitalism, exposed its aggressiveness and outlined a policy of peace connected with the struggle against the domination of big business, for the liberation of the peoples," noted the representative of the Guatemalan Party of Labour.

"Developing Marxism, Vladimir Lenin, the great continuer of the cause of Marx, showed convincingly that war, oppression and subjugation are concomitants of imperialism," Jouko Kajanoja, Chairman of the Communist Party of Finland, pointed out.

The overwhelming majority of conference participants said that in our time too imperialism is the source of the threat to universal peace, the security of the peoples and social progress.

"Present-day development fully confirms the correctness of ~~the~~ Marxist-Leninist conclusion that wars have their source in the economic system of a society of exploitation, one based on private appropriation of the means and results of production, giving rise to deep inequalities both within every country and in relations between countries and also to class struggle, which can develop into armed struggle," said Roberto de Almeida, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the MPLA—Party of Labour of Angola. "In capitalist society the military-industrial complex is directly responsible for the arms race, war propaganda and the policy of aggression directed against détente and peaceful co-existence. In the final count, what is at issue here is defence of the interests of a small social stratum possessing enormous wealth and power, the preser-

vation and extension of the highly profitable trade in arms."

Imperialism was pointed to as the source of the war danger by Michel Kamel, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Egyptian Communist Party. "Imperialism, which is the highest and last stage of capitalism," he said, "and the policy of which is determined today by its most reactionary and aggressive circles, follows the path of implementing its maniacal plans, creating the danger of the complete destruction of world civilization." Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, said that "the source of all wars in history has been the existence of exploitative classes. In our epoch, these are finance capital and particularly those who hold power in the United States." Rene Urbany, Chairman of the Communist Party of Luxemburg, and many others pointed out that the danger of war is rooted in imperialism.

What aims are pursued by imperialism in intensifying international tension, accelerating the arms race and pushing mankind towards a global catastrophe? In their speeches participants in the conference showed concern for the further development of the international situation.

Capitalism is trying to extricate itself from the "morass of crisis which is peculiar to its mode of production. As it does so, its agents become increasingly violent in their desperate attempt to survive and to get the diabolic system going," said Edward Mungoni Liso, Member of the Central Committee of the United National Independence Party of Zambia.

"The greatest threat to peace is represented precisely by the stubborn striving to preserve the old social and economic orders based on domination and

exploitation, a striving which finds expression in the struggle to preserve and extend spheres of influence, in the negation of the right of every people to determine independently their destiny," said **Romão Pereira de Couto**, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Movement for the Liberation of São Tomé and Príncipe.

"Imperialism banks on force in the hope of retarding the historical process and attaining military superiority over the socialist countries," said **Roberto de Almeida**, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the MPLA—Party of Labour of Angola.

"Imperialist circles consider that by escalating their aggressive policy they will succeed in increasing interference in the affairs of the socialist countries and restoring their domination over the newly-free countries," noted **Suleiman an-Nadjab**, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Palestinian Communist Party.

"~~The aim of imperialism~~ is by means of increased arms expenditure, direct preparations for war and provocations against peace, to compel the socialist countries, which are at the centre of the revolutionary process, to arm themselves. In this way the imperialists hope to slow down and even halt socialist development," said **Jørgen Jensen**, Chairman of the Danish Communist Party.

"Imperialism strives to arm itself; arms production and war have always been a titbit to monopolies and capitalism," noted **René Leon Maugé Mosquera**, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador.

Speakers sharply condemned the course pursued by the imperialist forces and, in the first place, the United States and NATO, of preparing for war, building up armaments and seeking to attain mili-

ary superiority. Such a course, in the words of Anthony Vassalo, General Secretary of the Maltese Communist Party, amounts to gambling with the destiny of mankind.

Christopher de Riggs, Member of the Central Committee of the New Jewel Movement of Grenada, said that the attempt of the imperialist forces "to threaten the very existence of mankind by increasing world tension, escalating the arms race and endangering world peace is but further verification of Marxism."

"The danger of nuclear war threatens humanity because of the criminal policies pursued by the US imperialists," noted E. M. S. Nambudiripad, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). "If the warmongers are not checked in time, the world will come face to face with destruction of millions of lives, of towns, cities, communities and whole countries. The talk of a limited nuclear war is sheer deception to lull the vigilance of the people."

The danger with which the arms race is fraught was pointed out by Aldo Tortorella, Member of the Directorate of the Italian Communist Party. "It is possible to fight the present crisis and to begin to solve the dramatic problem ~~of military~~ spending only by the method of reason and negotiation," he said. "In this connection the intention, announced by the US President, of achieving ultimate superiority, of developing something like the absolute weapon at a time when General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yuri Andropov has put forward proposals capable of giving an impulse to serious talks, is of an exceedingly dangerous nature. The only policy which can lead to lasting peace is a policy based on a search for a global balance of the existing forces."

Arnoldo Martínez Verdugo, Member of the Political Commission of the Central Committee of the United Socialist Party of Mexico, sharply criticized what he called the insane policy of US imperialism aimed at unleashing a war which would result in the destruction of all mankind's achievements.

Naturally, many conference participants paid considerable attention to the question of the responsibility of US imperialism for the creation of a threat to Europe, which the United States would like to turn into a theatre of operations in the event of a nuclear war and where it plans to begin already in 1983 the deployment of its new medium-range missiles.

Jouko Kajanoja, Chairman of the Communist Party of Finland, asked in this connection: "Who has renounced the spirit of Helsinki? The policy of tension and confrontation is pursued by imperialism and, in the first place, the Reagan Administration, which is seeking world domination. Therefore, we declare unequivocally that imperialism is the culprit."

The stepping-up of the US policy of dictating to Europe with the aim of undermining peaceful co-existence was pointed to by **Francette Lazard**, Member of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party. The danger of the siting of new American nuclear missile weapons in Europe was noted by **Jan Debrouwere**, National Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium. He described the possible realization of these US plans as a potential unleashing of the arms race on a scale which baffles the imagination.

Many speakers noted that the responsibility of imperialism for stepping up the arms race and creating an explosive situation is not confined to the framework of Western Europe today. The Unit-

ed States and its principal allies are actively participating in war preparations all over the world.

In many parts of the world the ruling circles of the United States are establishing military bases, whipping up the activity of reactionaries and endeavouring to realize their aggressive aims.

"In the Middle East, for instance, US imperialism is pursuing a very disgusting aggressive policy," said Suleiman an-Nadjah, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Palestinian Communist Party.

A broad account of the policy of US imperialism in that region was given by Michel Kamel, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Egyptian Communist Party, who said: "US imperialism is building its military bases in the Middle East, including bases for nuclear weapons, increasing its 'rapid deployment force' and what is called the 'multinational force' and is extending the sphere of its action. It is strengthening the military potential of Israel and encouraging its expansionist aspirations and aggressive actions, which have assumed a particularly large scale after the conclusion of the Camp David agreements.

"The young developing countries and especially the countries of the Middle East and the Persian Gulf area are being ever more intensively drawn into the arms race," Michel Kamel continued. "In the course of the past twenty years arms spending in the developing states has been growing twice as fast as in the world as a whole and three times as fast as their national incomes. Moreover, in the countries of the Middle East the indices of military expenditure have been rising faster than in other developing states."

The address of the Philippine Communist Party stated that in Asia the Reagan Administration is

"working out plans with the Nakasone government for Japan's increased rearmament, aimed at the Asian part of the Soviet Union, and for Japan's close linkage with NATO. The US government is now building up the military potential of the ASEAN countries and is encouraging them to exploit every opportunity for an armed conflict with the Indochinese countries. The armed presence of US imperialism in Japan, Australia, Micronesia, South Korea and the Philippines has enhanced its aggressive capability by the recent link-up of the US-Japan security arrangement with the Australia-New Zealand-US treaty forces."

"In our region—South Asia—conspiracies of imperialism and other reactionary forces continue," noted Mathiur Rahman, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bangladesh. "Instability and tension are on the increase. The US base in Diego Garcia directly threatens the peace and security of this region. Heavily arming Pakistan, Washington is turning the former into a springboard for its further machinations. Armed bandits getting refuge in Pakistan, backed by the United States and some other reactionary regimes, are conducting subversive activities against the People's Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. US imperialism is trying to involve the countries of this region into its global strategy."

The US Administration's course of an imperialist policy of dictation and interference in the internal affairs of the Latin American states was condemned by Volodia Teitelboim, Member of the Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile; Clodomiro Almeyda, Secretary General of the Socialist Party of Chile, and other representatives of the revolutionary liberation movement of the peoples of Latin America.

"The interference of US imperialism in the affairs of Latin America is a factor presenting a considerable threat to peace in this region and in the whole world," stressed R. Moreno, Member of the National Executive of the Left Revolutionary Movement of Chile. "Under the Reagan Administration this interference has become greater than ever."

Jorge Shafic Handal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Salvadoran Communist Party, said: "The escalation of the Reagan Administration's aggression in Central America and the Caribbean, which is a component of its global policy of confrontation and aggression, is aimed not only at restoring US domination in Nicaragua, suppressing the revolutionary movements in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras, liquidating democracy in Costa Rica and Panamanian nationalism and strangling the revolution in Grenada, but also at confronting Cuba and thus directly blackmailing the world with a nuclear threat. Consequently, the fire being kindled by US imperialism in Central America is a real threat to world peace."

"The conflict that has erupted in Central America must be resolved by the people of Central America themselves and without war," declared Victor Tirado Lopez, Member of the National Leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front of Nicaragua. "Such is our policy. Such is our position, the position of sober-minded parties, groups, trends and governments. But the interference of US imperialism is aggravating the situation. It has turned Central America into an international seat of tension."

Although the responsibility of US imperialism for the arms race and world tension is obvious, not all representatives of democratic circles, including Communists, are consistent enough in admitting this

fact. For instance, Aldo Tortorella, Member of the Directorate of the Italian Communist Party, criticized the Reagan Administration for the aggravation of tension between the great powers but at the same time declared that in ascertaining responsibility one should not limit oneself to an analysis of only the past few years, and that with such an approach responsibility allegedly rests also with the other great power.

This viewpoint was not shared by other conference participants. The report of the Paraguayan Communist Party stated:

"The USSR and the United States are treated even handedly and qualified as 'superpowers' and no account is taken of all the distinctions which cardinally separate their socio-economic systems and their international policies."

A detailed and argued exposition of his stand on this question was made by Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States. He said:

"Working class partisanship and just simple truth reject all concepts of the so-called two superpowers ... To in any way give the impression that the war danger, the threat of a nuclear holocaust, emanates equally from the 'two superpowers' is to deal in total falsehoods, to feed the big lie..."

"To view the Soviet Union as in any way to blame for the war danger and the nuclear arms race is objectively to cover up for the crimes and brutality of US imperialism..."

"The world must understand that at this moment the Reagan Administration has absolutely no intention of negotiating a disarmament treaty with the Soviet Union."

"A policy of nuclear weapons build-up for nuclear superiority, the budgeting of trillions of dollars for

nuclear weapons that now extends even to nuclear-arming outer space is the very opposite of negotiating to reduce nuclear arms and maintaining the nuclear balance of forces.

"The Reagan Administration is out to create the image of negotiating as a cover for the total and all-out development of weapons of nuclear superiority.

"Thus, to in any way, directly or even indirectly, by nuance, insinuation or omission, support the 'two superpowers' big lie is playing recklessly and criminally with the survival of our precious world and all of humanity. It is playing the wargame of US monopoly capital.

"For anyone to say that they relate to and treat all nations equally, without any reference to the imperialist nature of the major capitalist countries, is to objectively play right into their hands."

A similar opinion was expressed by William Kashtan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada: "Despite the US and NATO accelerated arms race there are views expressed in some quarters that both NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries are responsible for the present tense international situation. To place equal responsibility on these two groupings, one a capitalist bloc and the other a socialist bloc, is like blaming the working class for the capitalist crisis and for wars of aggression. It is a classless concept which should find no place in the revolutionary movement."

"To blame 'both blocs' for growing tension and the threat of the destruction of civilization and life on our planet is, in our opinion, a manifestation of defenceism and eclecticism," said Jorge Shafic Handal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Salvadoran Communist Party. "Such an approach signifies a fruitless policy of equidistance

which only undermines the effectiveness and militancy of the struggle against the real warmongers and those who are whipping up the nuclear arms race."

The untenability of the thesis that responsibility for aggravation of the world situation rests not only with the United States, but also with the USSR, became particularly evident in the light of the utterances of many conference participants about the USSR and other countries of the socialist community being the main force opposing the aggressive policy of imperialism, a bastion of peace against which the plans of the modern warmongers are crushed. This view was supported by Girigisson Gado, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Revolution Party of Benin; Volodia Teitelboim, Member of the Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile; William Kashtan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, and many others.

However, it was noted by Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, "there are those who try to deny the unity of socialism and peace and who, partly on purpose and partly by mistake, confuse a number of things".

Many spoke of the absurdity of denying the indivisibility of socialism and peace. It was noted, for instance, that the leading role of the USSR and the socialist community in the struggle for peace is predetermined by the very nature of socialism, by the entire history of the world's first socialist state.

"The Great October Socialist Revolution accomplished in 1917 by the proletariat of Russia headed by its Marxist party led by Lenin... converted the theory of Marxism into reality..." said Chiaka Anozie, Chairman of the Central Committee of the So-

zialist Party of Working People of Nigeria. "This revolution... became the turning point in the history of mankind in all spheres of life." The speaker recalled that the Decree on Peace had been the first decree of the young state. "The idea of peace and friendship among nations is rooted in the ideology of the working class," he stressed.

The Soviet Union has now become the force containing the aggressive schemes of imperialism. "So now for the first time in the history of mankind aggressive imperialist powers can no longer act with their usual abandon, conducting piratical wars and stifling the aspirations of small nations."

"...Lasting peace depends only on having a strong Soviet Union. The rest is dangerous illusion," said Eddison Zvogbo, Assistant Secretary of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front. The speaker compared imperialism to the lion he had seen in the Wankie game reserve in Western Zimbabwe. Because of a strong drought the lion was drinking from the same pond as hares and other smaller animals in apparent peace. But it would be an illusion for these animals to believe that the lion had become peace-loving. Unless contained, the lion at the moment of its own choosing would strike with a vengeance. "Only a strong Soviet nuclear capability... will be our insurance policy. It is the only viable share certificate in the preservation of peace... It is reality for us all."

"It is clear to us Norwegian Communists," said Hans Kleven, Chairman of the Communist Party of Norway, "that real socialism, that is to say, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries acting on the basis of Marxism, have made and are making the greatest contribution to ensuring world peace. Thanks to their existence and active peace policy we have lived in a Europe at peace for 38 years now.

It is the longest period of peace on the European continent. If the Soviet Union had not succeeded in achieving military parity with the United States, world history and especially the history of Europe would have certainly had a different course."

This conclusion was contained in concentrated form in the speech of **Rajeshwara Rao**, General Secretary of the National Council of the Communist Party of India. But for the military might of the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community and their preparedness to meet the imperialist threat, the warmongers would have already involved humanity in the most destructive world war.

Speeches at the conference demonstrated that the **peace initiatives of the USSR and the socialist community are supported by the international communist, working-class and national liberation movements, by progressive social forces.** The set of foreign-policy initiatives launched by the socialist countries is seen to be a real alternative to the policy of an arms build-up which is being pursued by the United States and some of its allies with the aim of attaining military superiority and which is leading to the upsetting of international stability. These initiatives are indicative of the socialist countries' responsible approach to the preservation of peace, their readiness to act to prevent nuclear war.

"The Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries are doing everything to lessen military confrontation, to bring about real disarmament on the basis of parity and equal security, to rid the peoples of the threat of nuclear war," said **Mikhail Zimyanin**, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. "Comrade Yuri Andropov's report, 'Sixtieth Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics'

and the Prague political declaration of the Warsaw Treaty states put forward highly important constructive initiatives aimed at attaining these goals. They have been welcomed by all who come out against the nuclear danger, for the promotion of extensive and equal international co-operation."

Vasil Bil'ak, Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, said that to imperialism's dangerous course the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries counterpose their policy of peace and good-neighbourliness, of co-operation in the interests of all peoples. This is attested to by the constructive proposals contained in the Prague political declaration of the Warsaw Treaty states.

In full support for Comrade Yuri Andropov's words, "there is no more important task today than to stop the incendiaries of a new war", Milko Balev, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, declared: "This is demanded by the vital interests of the peoples. It is an inspired appeal of the great Party of Lenin, the voice of the Soviet Union, which has been and will continue to be a reliable bulwark, the standard-bearer of the struggle for peace, freedom, democracy and communism."

Many conference participants voiced support for the specific peaceful programmes and proposals of the Soviet Union and of the whole socialist community of the Warsaw Treaty states.

"Proceeding from responsibility to our people and to the international working class, we hail and support the initiatives and proposals of the socialist states for curbing the arms race and for disarmament, which take into consideration the reasonable positions of other political forces," said Rene Ur-

bany, Chairman of the Communist Party of Luxemburg. "In our opinion, the proposals contained in the Prague declaration constitute a real programme for solving the most burning problems of our time and for the security of peace. In view of our geographical position, our direct proximity to Western Germany, where a huge military potential is concentrated, we highly appreciate the constructive response of the German Democratic Republic to the proposal of Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme for the creation in Central Europe of a zone free from battlefield nuclear weapons, one which would also enhance the security of Luxemburg."

The mobilizing impact of the peaceful initiatives of the USSR and the other Warsaw Treaty countries on the minds of people was referred by Horst Schmitt, Chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, who said that these initiatives help to expose the "Soviet threat" myth.

For her part, Francette Lazard, Member of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party, declared: "We support proposals in favour of talks, no matter where they come from, and in this connection note with satisfaction the recent positive initiatives of socialist and developing countries. In particular, we stand for the Geneva talks to be consummated with agreement and for Pershing and Cruise missiles not to be stationed in Europe. We support a balance of forces at a lower and not higher level."

The approval of the peaceful initiatives of the socialist community was expressed also by:

— Mathiur Rahman, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bangladesh: "The Peace Programme adopted at the 26th Congress of the CPSU, the content of the speech by Yuri Andropov on December 21, 1982, at a jubilee

meeting to mark the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, the recent political declaration of the Warsaw Treaty countries—all these convincingly demonstrate to world public opinion the earnest and sincere desire of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to maintain peace on our planet, effectively to combat the attempts of imperialism to lead the world to nuclear catastrophe”;

— Chea Sim, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, Chairman of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Chairman of the Kampuchean United Front for National Construction and Defence: “The dynamic peace programme put forward by the USSR has expressed the aspirations of a people who suffered so much during the war against the German fascists and who have made such great sacrifices on behalf of world peace. It has been widely supported by the whole of progressive mankind”;

— Phoumi Vongvichit, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic: “We fully and wholly support the peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union contained in the Appeal of the Supreme Soviet sent recently to the Parliaments and countries of the world, and also the recent statement by Yuri Andropov. We fully support the political declaration of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states”;

— Ruben Dario Souza, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Party of Panama: “The Soviet Union, the vanguard force in the struggle for peace, has embodied in its Peace Programme

the most cherished aspirations of the world's proletariat, the striving of all peoples to live in peace";

— Abdulla al-Ahmar, Assistant Secretary General of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party of Syria: "Syria supports the new peaceful initiatives contained in the Prague declaration of the Warsaw Treaty states. The realization of these measures will make it possible to prevent the outbreak of a new world war and will be a contribution to building a better future for all peoples".

The approval and support of the peaceful initiatives of the socialist countries by the revolutionary forces of our time are closely connected with the realization that the preservation of peace and the termination of the arms race are important preconditions for progress in all spheres of human endeavour, of social progress as a whole.

Milko Balev, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, said that on the preservation of world peace depends the successful construction of socialism and communism, the victorious development of the national and social revolutions, the entire progress of human society.

In their speeches István Sarlós, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic; Kim Tschungrin, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea; Kazimierz Barcikowski, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, and others noted that the peoples of the socialist countries see in the solution of the tasks of ensuring a lasting peace and international security and of the struggle against the imperialist policy of confrontation and

the arms race an important condition for successful socialist construction.

Jan Leclercq, MP, representative of the Belgian Socialist Party—Flemish Wing, pointed to the interconnection between the struggle for a lasting durable peace and economic and social progress. "This interconnection is of concern to us from the point of view of the present-day political situation," he said. He noted that the arms race swallows up manpower, financial and natural resources and leads to the growth of the trade in arms and the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the world. "I could formulate two main conclusions," he went on. "First, in most cases man does not dominate the system of armaments any longer; the system begins to dominate man. Second, modern evolution brought to a paroxysm leads to situations intolerable from the point of view of reason, and the present arms race is in itself a tremendous obstacle to the development of mankind on a planetary scale. The arms race and the war danger perniciously influence every national community taken separately. Nor can it be denied that the nuclear war threat casts a very strong shadow over the prospects for the future, especially for the younger generations. They form the impression that it is proving impossible to accomplish man's task of building a just and peaceful world."

Paavo Löppönen, representative of the Social Democratic Party of Finland, pointed to the close interconnection between two cardinal problems of our time, that of war and peace and that of overcoming economic backwardness.

"Peace and development are indivisible," said **Jesús Montané Oropesa**, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of

Cuba. "Only one-third of the 650,000 million dollars spent annually for military purposes and of the 15 trillion which will be spent for these purposes in the next ten years would suffice to solve the tragic problems connected with the low level of economic and social development from which three-quarters of mankind suffer."

As if following up this idea, Thorbjörn Jagland, Secretary of the Board of the Norwegian Workers' Party, noted that vast capital investments are needed to provide, in the next ten years, food and work to those in need of them. The large-scale squandering of resources for military purposes continues and threatens various industrial countries of the West with economic dislocation. The developing countries are already on the verge of economic collapse. "The crisis has reached a stage," the speaker stressed, "at which we should draw necessary conclusions from the existing interconnection between the arms race and the world economic crisis."

There was an extensive exchange of views on specific questions of the struggle for peace today.

"The Communists and all the peace-loving forces of the Federal Republic of Germany are faced with the top-priority task of stepping up the struggle against the stationing of US medium-range nuclear missiles on the territory of the West German state," declared Herbert Mies, Chairman of the German Communist Party. "The Party has always waged and will continue to wage the struggle for war never again to start on German soil. It is necessary to prevent the use of the results of the March parliamentary elections to justify the policy of the arms race, military confrontation and a turn to the Right in political life."

The problems of freezing nuclear weapons, creating nuclear-free zones in Europe and ensuring the

security of the peoples of the continent were reiterated by the representatives of the communist parties of Finland and Malta, the Progressive Working People's Party of Cyprus and the Social Democratic Labour Party of Sweden. Horst Schmitt, Chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, called for stepping up the struggle of the working people of Western Europe for peace and security, against the siting of new US medium-range missiles on the continent.

Many speakers stressed that Reagan's so-called interim proposal cannot serve as a reasonable basis for negotiations because its sole aim is at all costs to start the deployment of US medium-range missiles in Western Europe.

Hans Kleven, Chairman of the Communist Party of Norway, declared that the Norwegian Communists were for a Europe without atomic weapons, that is to say, for a real "zero option", against the placing of new US missiles in Europe and for the establishment, on the basis of a treaty, of a nuclear-free zone in the North of Europe, that is to say, in Sweden, Finland, Denmark and Norway. Such a zone would free Norway from the shackles of the dangerous atomic strategy of the United States, would be an exceedingly important step in creating an atmosphere of confidence and would set a good practical example in Europe. "In this connection," he said, "we support Sweden's initiative for creating a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe and hail the readiness of the German Democratic Republic to make all its territory available for this."

Thorbjörn Jagland, Secretary of the Board of the Norwegian Workers' Party, noted that an approximate balance exists between East and West and called for freezing all types of nuclear weapons at their present level. This would be the most constructive

approach to the talks on medium-range missiles and strategic weapons.

"A peace policy based on a radical reduction of nuclear weapons by both sides in Europe remains one of the most important programme points of our Party," declared **Bart Tromp**, Member of the Board of the Labour Party of the Netherlands.

Harilaos Florakis, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, spoke of the growing resistance of the Greek people to any attempts to turn Greece into a springboard against the socialist states.

Santiago Alvarez, representative of the Communist Party of Spain, described the struggle of the party against the participation of the country in NATO. "We are working," he said, "to mobilize the masses through demonstrations, meetings and the collection of signatures to express their opposition to our country's membership of this aggressive bloc and to keep our country outside military blocs. Proceeding from this, we call upon the comrades from the ruling Spanish Socialist Workers' Party to honour their own election promises and to conduct a referendum on this question."

"The struggle for peace is being waged in El Salvador, Guatemala and every corner of the planet where the peoples are fighting arms in hand to uphold their right to social progress, to the overthrow of the domination of the capitalists and imperialism, which oppress them," said **R. Moreno**, Member of the National Executive Committee of the Left Revolutionary Movement of Chile. "The struggle for peace is being waged by the people of Sandino and Carlos Fonseca, repelling the criminal imperialist aggression against their country, which has already won freedom. It is being waged by the peoples of Cuba and Grenada, who are taking mea-

asures to fight back the threat to their freedom, sovereignty and the building of a happy society, and who are setting a brilliant example for all the peoples of our continent."

Noboru Wakabayashi, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, dwelt on the actions of Japanese Communists against the Japanese-American military alliance, whose dissolution the party demands. It advocates turning Japan into a non-aligned neutral country and it will reject attempts to create any other military alliance after the present one is annulled. **Noboru Jagi**, representative of the Socialist Party of Japan, spoke in favour of establishing a nuclear-free zone in the region of Asia and the Pacific. "We come out against nuclear weapons," he said, "and are firmly resolved to help step up the movement for disarmament."

The experience of the Independence Congress Party of Madagascar, which in the 25 years of its existence has not and especially at the present time is not sparing efforts to draw the public of Madagascar into the struggle for universal peace, détente and disarmament, was described by **Gisèle Rabesahala**, General Secretary of the party. "The Independence Congress Party of Madagascar is fully aware that the aggressive policy of imperialism and, in the first place, US imperialism," she said, "is a serious danger to the countries fighting to safeguard their independence and national sovereignty won through countless sacrifices for the sake of the salvation of mankind."

Athos Fava, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Argentina, stressed that his party had adopted a correct position in connection with the Anglo-Argentine armed conflict. "Following the Marxist method", he said, "we strove to avoid be-

coming captives of particular aspects of the problem and to see everything as a whole, in motion, and above all the essence of the problem itself."

Mabruk Ali al-Gayed, Member of the General People's Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, said that his country was against the stationing of new nuclear missiles in Europe and in Mediterranean countries and against the American-style peace in the Arab region, that is to say, against Camp David. Questions of struggle against the "American-Zionist octopus" were dealt with by **Rifaat Said**, Member of the Leadership of the National Progressive Unionist Party of Egypt (Left Wing).

Conference participants cited many other examples of the extension and development of the struggle for peace, which has now spread to all the continents of the planet.

A powerful appeal was issued in Berlin for stepping up the struggle for peace, against the war danger. This idea was forcibly expressed by **Anthony Harriott**, Member of the Political Bureau of the Workers' Party of Jamaica, who said: "We should not be lulled into complacency. It is good to hope for progress at the Geneva talks, but better to work more actively for it. The unity and active mobilization of all peace-loving people is required to keep the fingers of the imperialists off the war buttons."

For Unity in Action

Very close attention was paid at the conference to the pressing need for the rallying of all forces united by a common striving to avoid nuclear war and to prevent imperialism from fomenting a world conflict, to the problems of the mass anti-war movement of today. It was noted that today powerful social forces oppose the adventurist militarist policy of imperialism and, in the first place, US imperialism, which is engaged in a frenzied arms race for the sake of its imperialist hegemonistic ambitions. These forces oppose its atomic madness and are for a world without wars and weapons. There is no more important task at the present time than to unite and activize all the anti-war forces. "The present conference is an important step in this solely correct direction," said Grigori Romanov, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, speaking at a reception given in honour of the conference participants.

Many speakers noted the scale of the anti-war movement, its multiformity, the variety of its composition and the influx of new forces into it. "There will be no movement forward," said Francette Lazard, Member of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party, "without actions all over the world, in all countries, by all the forces personify-

ing this great task of mankind, all political, philosophical and religious forces, men and women, young people who have been roused into action in the peace movement, which is undoubtedly one of the most significant developments of the decade now beginning... The more numerous and varied the forces which will respond to the challenge, to the need to secure peace and disarmament, with all their distinctions, own motivations and even divergencies, the more effective their actions will be and the greater are the chances for the future."

The idea of the need to extend the framework of the anti-war movement, regardless of ideological and other divergencies on some questions, was supported by other conference participants. For example, Ton van Hoek, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Netherlands, said that the struggle for peace signifies at present the overcoming of many old political and philosophical watersheds on the basis of the personal responsibility of everyone for the life and future of all. Differences of opinion between partners in the alliance should be recognized but on no account turned into an apple of discord.

"Today there is a growing need to unite all forces in the struggle against nuclear war, for peace, détente and disarmament," said Jouko Kajanoja, Chairman of the Communist Party of Finland. "Clearly, the revolutionary, democratic and peace-loving forces of different countries differ in their views, in their assessments of many events or developments. But today one must seriously and firmly turn to one of the principal starting points of the teaching of Karl Marx: the issue is one of rallying to prevent war."

Many speakers stressed the interest all people on Earth have in preventing a nuclear catastrophe

and the resulting necessity for the co-operation of all forces supporting this aim. That is precisely how the character of the peace movement is understood by the ruling parties of the states of the socialist community, by Communists and all fighters for social progress in various parts of the world. They call for the co-operation in the anti-war movement of all those who want this, without laying down any conditions and without accepting preliminary conditions directed against them. But at the same time they point out that the anti-war movement has a specific adversary—those who really threaten war, those who are to blame for the aggravation of the international situation—imperialism and, above all, the Reagan Administration. As Kenneth Kvist, Member of the Executive of the Board of the Left Party-Communists of Sweden, said, US imperialism is the chief enemy of the struggle for peace.

In this connection many speakers pointed out that the breadth of alliances in the anti-war movement is important not in itself, but as a means of rallying people on a platform of joint actions against imperialism, above all, US imperialism. It is important also that anti-war sentiments should find expression in specific actions, in daily struggles. The active role of the working class, of its political parties and organizations in this struggle is the guarantee of this.

Jorge Kalle, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bolivia, declared: "To Communists, heirs of the deepest humanism of Marx, the struggle for peace is the central task for the accomplishment of which we should not spare efforts, demonstrating in the most convincing way the will for co-operation with all forces which, even if they adhere to different political and ideological positions on other questions of the social struggle,

strive like we do for the preservation of peace, the preservation of mankind's future. This striving for peace, as we understand it, should be offensive, active, and not boil down to a defensive stance in the face of those bent on plunging mankind into nuclear catastrophe."

"In Austria," noted Franz Muhri, Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria, "it has become possible to build a broad anti-war movement in which Socialists, Christians, non-party people and Communists co-operate. The struggle for peace is by no means a concern of the working class alone. But Marx's dictum that the struggle for a foreign policy of peace 'forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working class'¹ retains its relevance today."

"The pooling by all the workers', socialist and communist parties of their forces in an attempt to avert the threat to mankind emanating from imperialism would be a concrete application of the doctrine of Marx," said Jørgen Jensen, Chairman of the Danish Communist Party. Hans Kleven, Chairman of the Communist Party of Norway, stressed the need for joint actions with the other streams of the working-class movement, especially the social democratic parties, in the struggle for peace, labour and social progress.

Herbert Mies, Chairman of the German Communist Party, said: "As part of the world communist movement, the most consistent political force in the struggle for peace and social progress, we Communists of the Federal Republic of Germany hail the fact that on April 7, 1983, opening the 16th Congress of the Socialist International, its Chairman,

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1976, p. 18.

Willy Brandt, said that the Socialist International should recognize itself as 'a great international party of peace and act as such'. When it comes to ensuring peace, the promotion of the interests of the working people, and social progress, Socialists and Social-Democrats always have reliable partners in us Communists."

The great importance of co-operation between working-class parties in the struggle for peace and social progress was also referred to by representatives of socialist and social democratic parties who took part in the conference. For instance, Leroy Cooke, Member of the Executive of the People's National Party of Jamaica, stressed the need "to commence and sustain a dialogue between those parties who follow the methodology developed notably by Lenin and those parties who are members of the Socialist International... We need more contacts and an increased exchange of views between all those who admit in any way the positive influence on their thinking and action of the living and dynamic thought of Karl Marx. Above all, for the workers of all nations of the world..."

"The ideological differences which remain and which we dare not deny should be subordinated to questions of security," said W. Bruns, head of the delegation of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. "We are probably at one here as regards the fact that today the war danger is greater than several years ago. Security can be achieved only in co-operation and not in confrontation. Not in confrontation, but only in co-operation will the member states of both alliances achieve greater security. Today we need such a policy of security, precisely in and for Europe, which would approach tasks from the viewpoint of co-operation and not confrontation."

Despite some differences in approach to questions of the struggle for peace and against war, despite the diversity of accents, all conference participants were of the same mind in that war should be prevented and the peoples should be assured of a clear peaceful sky.

Many conference participants said that the accomplishment of the main task—preservation of peace—calls for unity in the struggle against all manifestations of imperialism.

It was stressed that such cohesion and unity are especially important when the "Crusade" against communism, proclaimed by Ronald Reagan, has become a concentrated expression of the ideology and policy of the most aggressive and reactionary circles of US imperialism, of this turn to social revenge.

"Now as never before the imperialists, having united their ranks, are whipping up their anti-communist campaign and undertaking military and other aggressive actions all over the world and on a large scale," noted Kim Tschungrin, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea.

"It is no accident that anti-Sovietism and anti-communism have become part and parcel of US imperialism's drive to world domination through a nuclear war," stressed K. P. Silva, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka.

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, said in this connection: "With no earthy, reasonable arguments to defend his insane doomsday policies and devoid of any intelligent or even logical-sounding charges against Marxism-Leninism and real socialism, Reagan has taken the road of last resort. It is the road of all

political-ideological scoundrels and charlatans... Reagan has declared an all-out, hell and brimstone holy war against Marxism-Leninism and existing socialism.

"Hypocritically and demagogically, Reagan has evangelically proclaimed that Marxism-Leninism is the root of all 'sin and evil in the world'. That the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are the 'focus of evil in the modern world'. That they are 'evil empires'.

"Reagan has embarked on an anti-communist Crusade with the fanaticism of an Inquisition. With libellous litanies couched in cold war overtones, Reagan is attempting to cover up his all-out policies of imperialist aggression, nuclear superiority and nuclear confrontation. He is criminally gambling with the lives of the whole human family..."

Speakers pointed to the futility of the exertions of the newly-fangled "Crusaders". "The tireless attempts of whole generations of professional 'refuters of Marx' to extirpate Marxism have proved futile. The same fate will befall today's 'grave-diggers of Marx', such as, for instance, Reagan, Weinberger and others who have called for a 'Crusade' which is to leave communism on the garbage heap of history," said the Chairman of the Communist Party of Luxemburg, Rene Urbany.

Is it possible to frustrate the offensive of imperialism, Reagan's "Crusade" with its programme of "democracy and public diplomacy"? Conference participants gave a unanimous positive answer to this question. They stressed at the same time that the collapse of imperialism's plans will not be automatic. To rebuff them successfully it is necessary to act, to unite, to draw the broadest sections of society into the struggle. "All people of goodwill must come out against Reagan's 'Crusade'," said Ali

Yata, General Secretary of the Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco.

The leading role in repelling the aggressive encroachments of imperialism, in this broad movement aimed at preventing nuclear war, is played by the socialist countries, by their communist parties. The conference participants noted that their activities in the international arena aimed at strengthening and mobilizing very diverse forces coming out for peace and social progress are at the same time an effective means of rebuffing the "Crusade" against communism proclaimed by Reagan. Contributing factors are their struggle for the cohesion of communist ranks, the consolidation of ties with Social-Democrats, the non-aligned movement, the anti-war actions of the masses, the campaigns of solidarity with fighters who are in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism, and others.

It was specially noted at the conference that this struggle also demands great ideological efforts as the antidote to big business's monopoly of the mass information media, to "cultural imperialism", to the entire ideological apparatus of the capitalist countries, poisoning the minds of millions of people, subjugating their will to the interests of imperialism and the social and political forces supporting it (Santiago Alvarez, representative of the Communist Party of Spain). "The revival and triumph of détente and peaceful co-existence presuppose a stubborn and constant struggle against imperialism, for curbing its more aggressive and reactionary circles, for the exposure of their ideological intrigues," said Roberto de Almeida, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the MPLA—Party of Labour of Angola.

The message of the Philippine Communist Party pointed to the special responsibility of the party "in

the mobilization of the broadest forces possible against the insane warlike policies of the Reagan Administration, particularly against US military bases in the Philippines, where ever greater strength and scope are being gained by a wide front of fighters for peace and disarmament in which trade unions, students, and so on are taking part. Amidst the imminent danger of war the immediacy of internationalism on this central issue becomes the synthesizing thread in Marx's legacy for the present time."

The importance of the problem of unity for Latin America was noted by Victor Granda, General Secretary of the Ecuadoran Revolutionary Socialist Party, who said: "On the basis of unity in struggle and in building a socialist Latin America our people will realize their legitimate material, political and social aspirations. Only within the framework of unity will it be possible to put an end to unequal exchange, discrimination and imperialist oppression."

"Another aspect in the endeavours for social progress is the element of anti-imperialist solidarity," said E. T. Kamara, Administrative Secretary of the All People's Congress Party of Sierra Leone. "The disinterested support and solidarity of the socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union, to third-world countries is very significant and worthy of commendation."

"On behalf of the Party of Unity for National Progress of Burundi and its activists," said Degratias Bayaga, Member of the Central Committee of the Party, "allow me to express our profound satisfaction with the effective policy of solidarity pursued by the progressive forces and by the governments of the socialist countries, which in Africa and other regions have always been on the side

of the peoples fighting for their emancipation."

"Our convergence with the countries of the socialist community, with the progressive, peace-loving parties of the world is a natural process within the framework of the struggle for lofty, noble goals," stressed Mabruk Ali al-Gayed, Member of the General People's Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

As if summing up these pronouncements, Mahmoud Baryalai, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, declared: "Today the revolutionary struggle and the struggle for peace go hand in hand. Marx was correct in his deep conviction that to the extent that the revolutionary movement develops, strength is also gained by those forces which are capable of curbing the instigators of the arms race and aggression."

A considerable majority of speakers stressed that the cohesion of the international communist and working-class movement, finding its most vivid expression in the comprehensive and ever-living Marxist concept of proletarian internationalism, is a pledge of victory in the struggle for peace and social progress, the basis of the successful interaction of the three main streams of the world revolutionary process.

Alvaro Cunhal, Secretary General of the Portuguese Communist Party, said: "We strive to make and will be making our active contribution to the unity of the communist and workers' parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the unity of all anti-imperialist, democratic and peace-loving forces."

"The idea of internationalism and of the unity of all exploited masses is one of the basic propositions

of the teaching of Marx," declared Samora Machel, Chairman of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), President of the People's Republic of Mozambique. "This idea finds its concrete expression in the growing realization of the close unity of all the component parts of the modern revolutionary movement. In our epoch internationalism has acquired special importance and magnitude in connection with the necessity to struggle for peace, against the danger of nuclear catastrophe. It is precisely the Marxists who head the struggle of the whole of mankind for peace, for the preservation of life on Earth."

"The resolute struggle which socialist Ethiopia is waging shoulder-to-shoulder with the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces is, in a way, a response to Marx's call for proletarian internationalism," said Addis Tedla, Member of the Executive of the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia.

"Marx's and Engels's teaching on internationalism, the essence of their views and opinions and their actions to promote international proletarian solidarity," declared Nikola Stojanović, Secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, "remain the indispensable theoretical and practical basis of the actions of all forces fighting for social and national liberation, for all-round emancipation, for peace, democracy and social progress."

"The grave danger hanging over the world demands more than ever before that we follow Marx's idea that only the international cohesion of the working class can ensure its final victory. In face of the growth of imperialism's aggressiveness and striving for world domination the international working-class movement, of which the Communists are

the vanguard, has a tried and tested weapon—international solidarity. Hence the abiding topicality of the slogan 'Working men of all countries, unite!,' said Suleiman an-Nadjab, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Palestinian Communist Party. "We Palestinian Communists consider that consolidation of the unity of the international communist and working-class movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is the main condition of success in the struggle against the frantic aggressiveness of imperialism, the basis on which the unity of the three forces participating in the world revolutionary process is strengthened."

Michel Kamel, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Egyptian Communist Party, said: "We fully and wholly support the opinion, already expressed here, that the unity of all patriotic, progressive, socialist trends in mankind's great battle against imperialism is a pledge and guarantee of victory. The strengthening on an international scale of the unity of the revolutionary forces and especially their vanguard and main detachment—the world communist movement—will redouble our strength and accelerate our advance."

The majority of the representatives of other communist and workers' parties also emphasized the vitality and inexhaustible force of the slogan "Working men of all countries, unite!" put forward in the Manifesto of the Communist Party. Among them were Eduardo Gallegos Mancera, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela; Khalid Bagdash, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Syria; Michael O'Riordan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland, and others.

"The Communist Party of Turkey disagrees with those who speak of the 'obsolescence' of the principles of proletarian internationalism and of the need for their 'renovation', those who counterpose Marxism to Leninism, who ignore the international character of the experience of fraternal parties in the practice of building socialism and communism and who refuse to recognize the inspiring force of real socialism," said Haydar Kutlu, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey. "We consider that today, despite all the fundamental differences of opinion on some questions, the struggle for peace is the unifying principle of the international communist and working-class movement. All the communist and workers' parties should today unite, above all, in the struggle for peace. The last plenary meeting of the Central Committee of our party stressed that a new world forum of communist and workers' parties has become a topical necessity in the interests of the struggle for peace and social progress."

"Marx elaborated the immortal principles of proletarian internationalism and counterposed them to the narrow nationalism with which imperialism often manipulates," said Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Colombian Communist Party. "The ideas of proletarian and socialist internationalism constitute an ever broader concept which is spreading not only among the working class, but also among other social strata in the capitalist world."

"The German Communist Party is a party adhering to proletarian internationalism," said Herbert Mies, Chairman of the German Communist Party. "It is making its contribution to ensuring that the communist and workers' parties closely rally their ranks, that they co-operate and act in greater unity

and more concertedly. This is necessary today and in the future more than ever. As Marx said, the unifying ties of solidarity are necessary, for in them lies our strength. The ties of solidarity uniting Communists are always supplemented by the unifying ties of common interests of different forces of the working-class movement, the democratic and social movements, and, above all, the anti-war movement. Precisely therefore Marxist policy is always a policy of unity in action and democratic alliances."

"We are guided in our attitude to all international developments and problems by the principles of working-class internationalism in its many forms, such as support for all the peoples engaged in the struggle for national liberation and the upholding of the world socialist system," said Michael O'Riordan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland.

"Marx viewed internationalism not simply as proletarian solidarity in a narrow class sense. He considered proletarian solidarity to be the basis for the cohesion of all forces fighting against national and social oppression on a broader scale," said Abu Bakr Ba Dib, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party. "Moreover, as the working class is the vanguard of all revolutionary forces it is capable of playing a leading part in international solidarity."

Khalid Bagdash, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Syria, declared: "'Working men of all countries, unite!'—this slogan proclaimed by Marx and Engels is at present the mightiest slogan in the struggle for the preservation of universal peace. Engels wrote: "'Working men of all countries, unite!' But few voices responded when we proclaimed these words

gan has been caught up by hundreds or millions in the countries of the victorious proletariat; it is spreading ever more widely in the non-socialist countries, throughout the whole world. The meaning of this great slogan has been deepened and enriched in the past hundred years and, in particular, after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, after the winning of power by proletarians in other countries.

"At present the principal content of this slogan is unreserved solidarity of workers, of all working people in the world with the country of the October Revolution, with all the countries of the socialist community in the fight against the war danger, for the preservation of universal peace, for the right of the peoples to freedom and independence, for their right to choose their own way of development."

"It goes without saying that the states of the socialist system shoulder the main share of responsibility and real expenditure for the defence of world peace. And their role, especially the role of the Soviet Union, is decisive," stressed Kazimierz Barcikowski, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party. "~~Therefore the~~ attitude of the workers' parties of all countries to the initiatives and war-prevention measures put forward by the socialist states is in a way a criterion of respect for the Marxist idea of internationalism in our time."

"Working men of all countries, unite!" were the final words of the speech of Manuel Mora Valverde, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica.

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1976, p. 104.

countries—Communists and non-Communists—stressed in this connection the importance of the implementation of the principles of proletarian internationalism in supporting the struggle of their peoples against imperialism, for social progress, for their parties themselves. This was referred to by Gisele Rabesahala, General Secretary of the Independence Congress Party of Madagascar; Alfred Nzo, General Secretary of the African National Congress of South Africa; Pierre Nze, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Congolese Party of Labour, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of the Congo; André Constant, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Martinique Communist Party, and others.

"Although our party is not Marxist," said Rifaat Said, Member of the Leadership of the National Progressive Unionist Party of Egypt (Left Wing), "we stand together with you, dear comrades, in one and the same international ranks and enthusiastically salute, without the slightest reservations, Marx's great slogan 'Working men of all countries, unite!'"

Speakers cited numerous examples of the solidarity of Communists with the struggle of the peoples in various parts of the world—in Latin America, in the South of Africa, in the Middle East, in Indochina and elsewhere, and stressed the need for increasing mutual support by participants in the revolutionary process.

"Internationalism is a virtue of the proletariat and the main content of Marxism," stressed Nguyễn Đức Tâm, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam. "Ever since its foundation the Commun-

ist Party of Vietnam has included the Vietnamese revolution in the main stream of proletarian revolutions in the world. At different stages of its revolutionary struggle Vietnam has received and continues to receive constant important and effective support from the socialist countries, the working class and the whole of progressive mankind."

Jesús Montané Oropesa, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, said: "Marx taught that the victorious working class contributes to the elimination of colonialism, and its solidarity is a contribution to the elimination of the gulf which formed more than a century ago and has been constantly widening, a gulf between the small number of the most highly developed countries of Europe and North America and the majority of the countries of the world."

Mahmoud Baryalai, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, declared: "The disinterested and fraternal assistance of our great friend the Soviet Union and of other countries of the socialist community is a vitally important source of the growth of our forces. Thanks to this assistance the lie is given to those who think in concepts far removed from reality, who have got stuck in the morass of modern opportunism and adopted a classless position within communist and workers' parties, those who are out to discredit and bury proletarian internationalism. From this assistance we draw fresh forces and strengthen our will. This assistance opens up before us new horizons for advance towards a new future. It enables us to occupy a modest but significant place in the revolutionary struggle of the peoples."

Amath Dansoko, Assistant General Secretary of the Senegal African Independence Party, said in the way of summing up, that on all the fronts of the struggle of the peoples against imperialism (from Indochina to Central America, from Afghanistan to South Africa and the Middle East) hundreds of millions of people are seeing from experience the creative power of existing socialism—not in the sense of the export of revolution or interference in the struggle from without, but through international proletarian solidarity, which is the core and embodiment of the class positions of Marxism-Leninism.

It was pointed out at the conference that since the ranks of the revolutionary forces have grown, and since the task of social and national emancipation has become particularly urgent, the objective need for the solidarity and joint efforts of the revolutionaries is increasing.

"Loyal to the behests of Marx, Engels and Lenin," said Mikhail Zimyanin, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "our party sees it as its duty to assist in every way the struggle of the various contingents of the world revolutionary movement, all those who come out against imperialism, for peace and social progress. We are convinced that today as always, the principle of proletarian internationalism is a reliable principle making it possible to rally all these forces.

"Soviet Communists have never regarded this concept as fixed and immutable. We see that with the growth of the share of the tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle in present conditions the importance of the general democratic aspect of proletarian internationalism is increasing. But we are convinced that this by no means signifies a belittling of its class, anti-capitalist content."

Many speakers pointed out that proletarian internationalism in the Marxist-Leninist view presupposes also extension of the free, voluntary interaction of very diverse forces for the sake of a common goal and respect for the independence of every participant in the movement. But the content of proletarian internationalism, as was noted, for instance, by Franz Muhri, Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria, William Kashtan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, and others, is at once broad and precise, it has a clear address.

Santiago Alvarez of the Communist Party of Spain noted that the struggle against aggression, plunder and imperialism requires greater unity than today, greater joint or united actions of the countries, peoples, movements, parties and forces whose vital interests are affected, with strict respect for the distinctions and independence of each of them.

"The proposition that no national movement can, in the name of internationalism, impose its own viewpoint and interests on other national movements is an important element of the Marxist view on internationalism," said Nikola Stojanović, Secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Some speakers pointed out that internationalism cannot be reduced only to the independence of the movements and parties of different countries, to non-interference in each other's affairs.

"Our international solidarity and our close ties with the Soviet Union, the other socialist states, the communist movement, all national liberation movements, and the progressive and peace-loving forces all over the world serve the interests of peace and social progress," noted Franz Muhri. "It is a basic principle of the Communist Party of Austria. This internationalism, this solidarity in no way run coun-

ter to the autonomy of our party and to the national interests of our people; on the contrary, taken together they constitute an indivisible whole."

William Kashtan stressed: "In conditions of increased aggressiveness by imperialism, communist and workers' parties cannot limit internationalism to that of relations of equality and independence only. Internationalism encompasses international solidarity and the maximum of co-operation and co-ordination of effort around common objectives.

"Our party calls for ever greater co-operation among Marxist-Leninist parties in the struggle for peace and against imperialism. We believe such co-operation is vital to cope with an increasingly complicated and dangerous situation."

An analysis was also made of such an important aspect of proletarian internationalism as combining the national tasks of Communists with international ones.

"We Portuguese Communists," said Alvaro Cunhal, Secretary General of the Portuguese Communist Party, "are waging in our country a struggle for the unity of all democrats and patriots, just as in the international arena we support the unity of all anti-imperialist forces and participation in joint or converging actions of very diverse and broad social or religious forces, actions aimed at defending universal peace.

"To Marxist-Leninists international duty and obligations to one's country are indivisible. Of course, the most important contribution which a Communist Party can make to the struggle of the working people and the peoples of other countries, to the worldwide struggle for democracy, national independence, socialism and peace is to secure positive political and social changes in its country.

"But alongside the struggle in a particular country it is urgently necessary to intensify joint actions also in the international arena for the attainment of common aims."

"To us Martinican Communists unfailing consideration of national conditions does not signify divorce from the world revolutionary movement," said André Constant, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Martinique Communist Party.

"By his practical activities Marx set a striking example of proletarian internationalism and the international solidarity of working people," said Abu Bakr Ba Dib, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party. "He taught us that one cannot separate the struggle of the working class against the capitalist system as a whole from the struggle of the proletariat in every individual country, because the proletariat of every country is one of the contingents of the single international army of the workers of all countries fighting against capitalism and all forms of exploitation of man by man. The successes of every revolutionary contingent are regarded as a common gain of the liberation struggle of the peoples and, conversely, any defeat influences to some degree or another the situation on the entire front of confrontation with the class enemy."

"To our party the national and the international constitute a single organic whole," said Vasil Bil'ak, Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. "After the emergence of the socialist community of nations proletarian internationalism underwent further development and became socialist internationalism, which is an expression of friendly relations not only between parties, but also

between peoples and between states, and in the consciousness of the Czechoslovak people it is intrinsically linked with cordial fraternal feelings for the Soviet Union."

Nguyễn Duc Tam, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, stressed that the solidarity, co-operation and mutual assistance of the fraternal socialist countries in the spirit of socialist internationalism create favourable prerequisites and conditions for the rapid development and strengthening of every state and of the entire community and lead to the drawing together of the levels of development of these countries. These are good, yet unprecedented relations in the history of states and nations.

Summarizing the main features of the enrichment and extension of the content of proletarian internationalism in our time, **Mikhail Zimyanin**, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said: "Proletarian, socialist internationalism in its Marxist-Leninist understanding signifies today, in the first place, active work to ensure the unity of the socialist community, the cohesion of all the socialist countries, defence of the historic gains of socialism—certainly with full consideration for the distinctions of each country, with mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and interests.

"Proletarian internationalism in its Marxist-Leninist understanding signifies today also promotion in every way of the cohesion of the fraternal communist, workers' and revolutionary democratic parties in the struggle for common goals.

"Proletarian internationalism presupposes an uncompromising struggle against all attempts to disunite the revolutionary forces, the communist parties, whatever nationalist or opportunist labels are used to cover up these attempts.

"Finally, proletarian internationalism in its Marxist-Leninist understanding," Mikhail Zimyanin continued, "signifies readiness to do everything for the solution of problems bearing on the future of the whole of mankind and, above all, the paramount problem of preventing nuclear catastrophe.

"Proletarian internationalism accords with the interests of social progress, the interests of all peoples, of the entire mankind. To be guided by this principle is a sacred duty of true Communists, of all those who in deeds and not in words are loyal to the great behests of our teachers."

In the face of the increased threat from imperialism it is particularly necessary today to heighten the solidarity of Communists, of all fighters for social progress and for the remaking of the world, to enhance the activity and unity in action of the broad circles coming out for the supreme right of man—the right to life. This was stressed by virtually all participants in the conference and it was an expression of the power of the ideas of proletarian solidarity and proletarian internationalism.

**КАРЛ МАРКС И СОВРЕМЕННОСТЬ —
БОРЬБА ЗА МИР И СОЦИАЛЬНЫЙ ПРОГРЕСС**
Международная конференция в Берлине,
11—16 июля 1953 г.
на английском языке
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